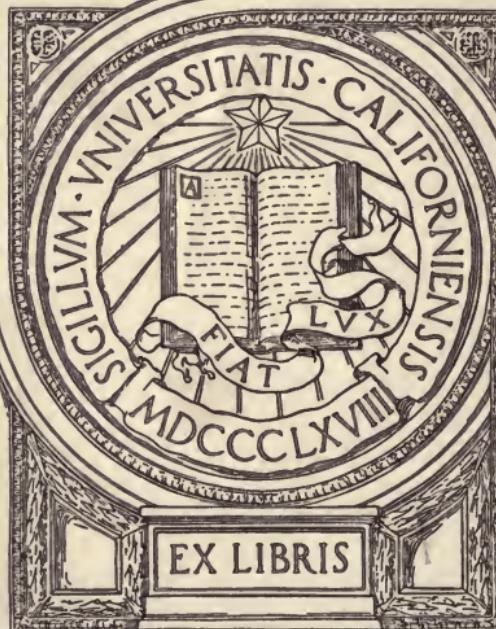
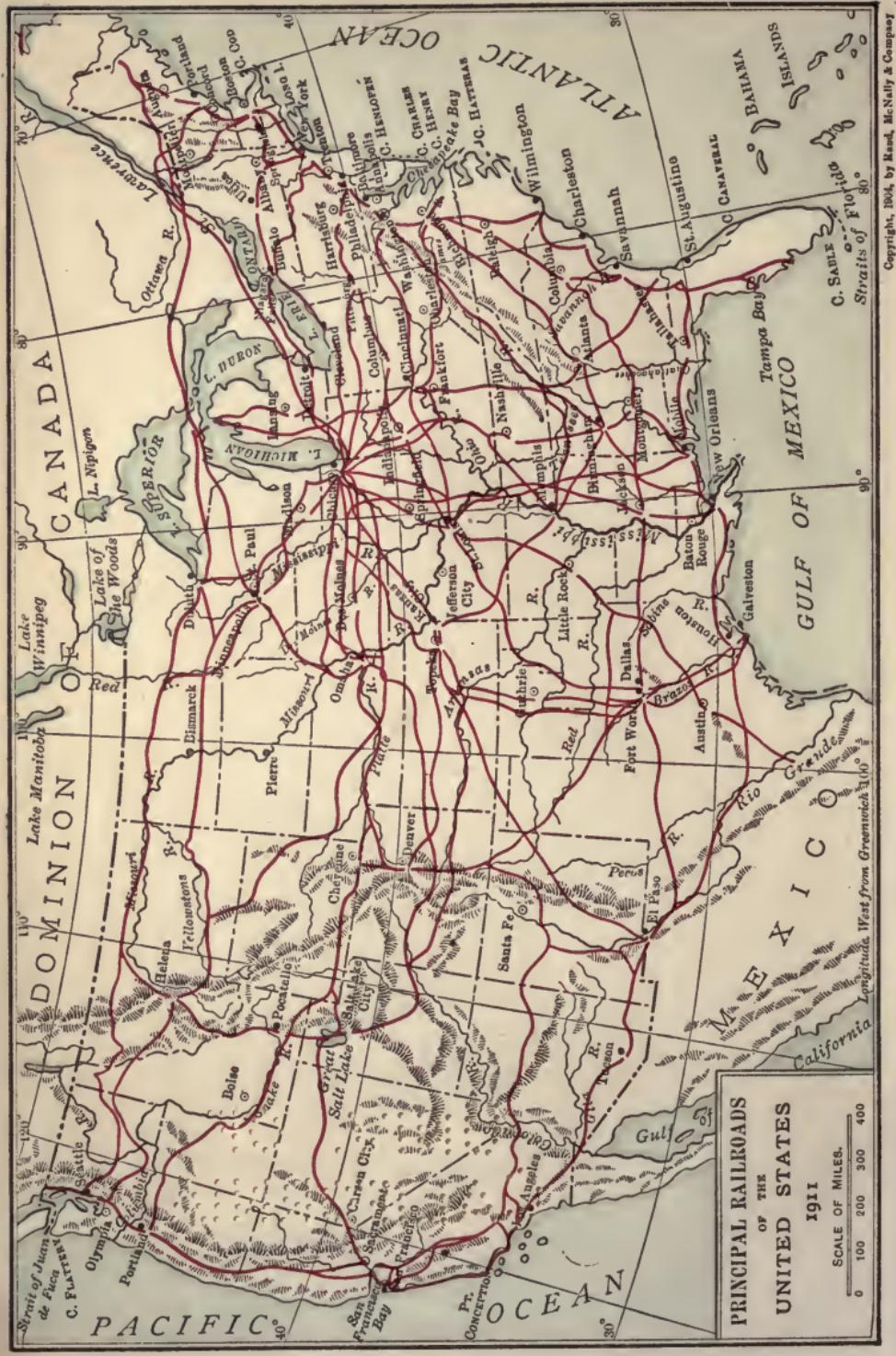
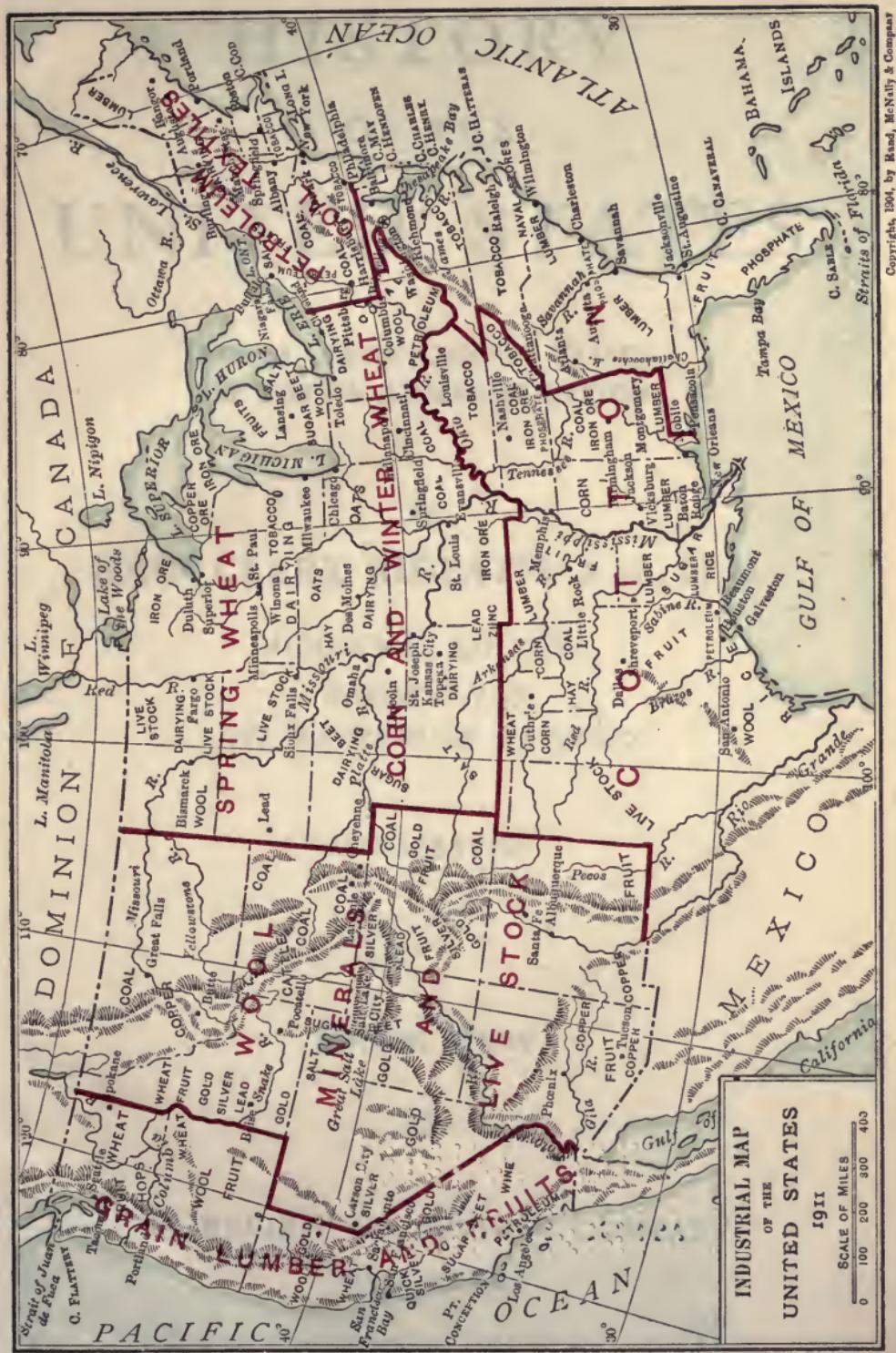


IN MEMORIAM
GEORGE HOLMES HOWISON







HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

FROM ABORIGINAL TIMES
TO TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION

By

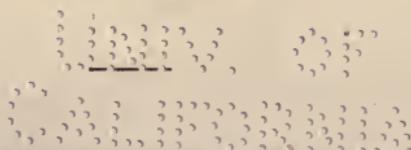
JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, A.M., LL.D.

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

VOLUME IV

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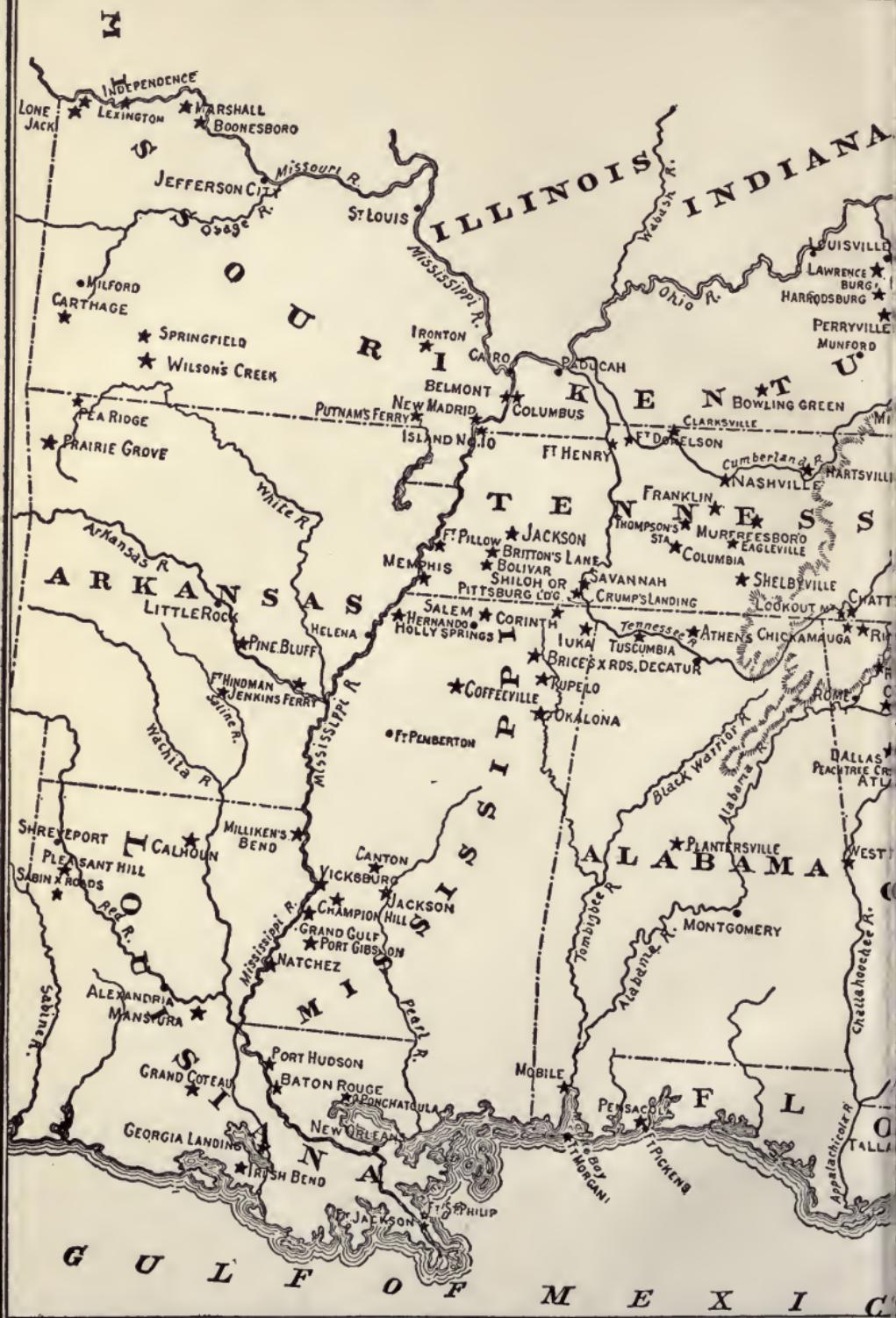
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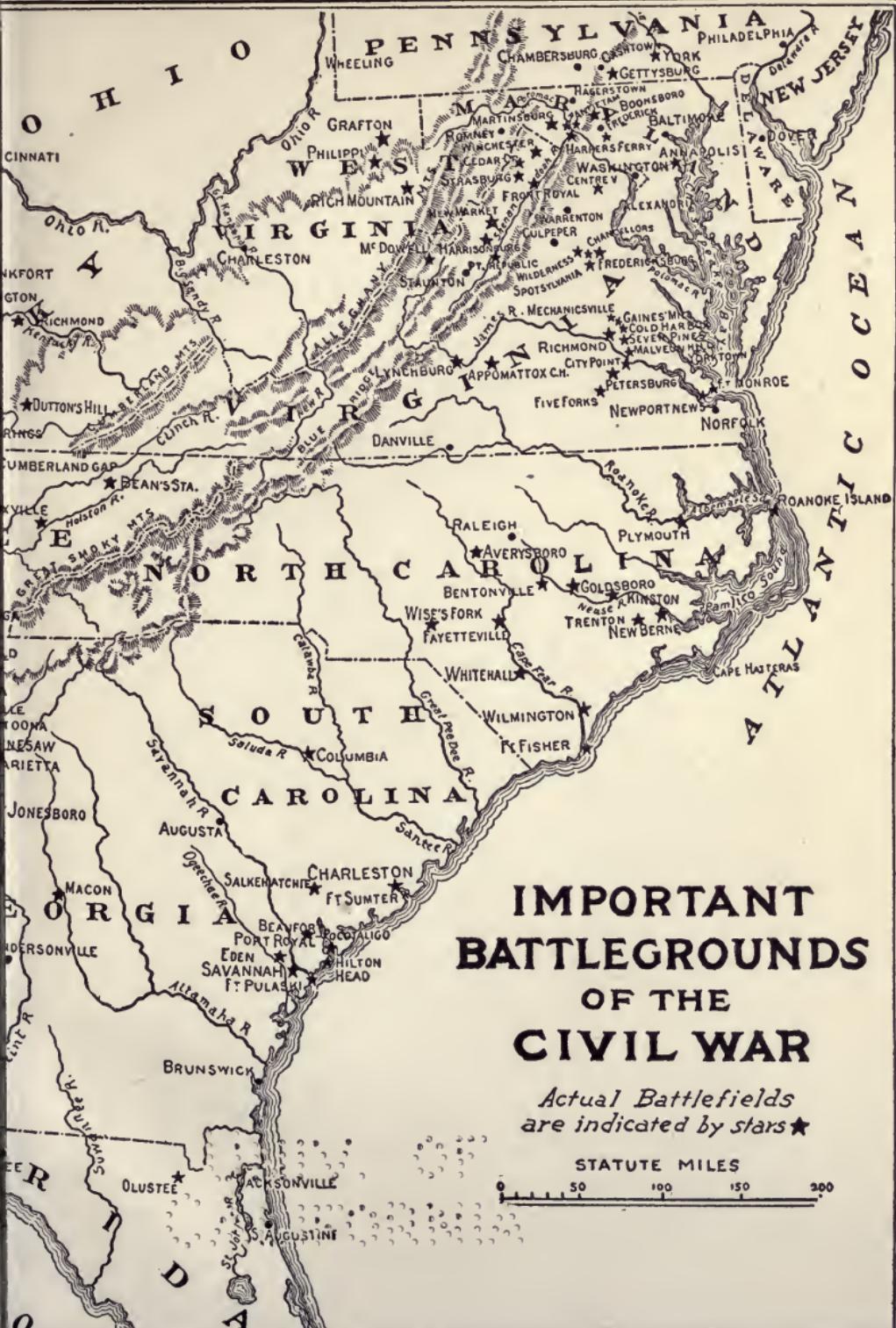
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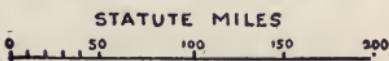
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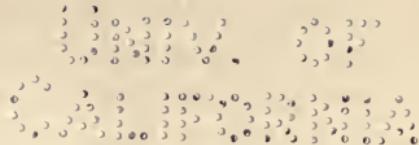


IMPORTANT BATTLEGROUNDS OF THE CIVIL WAR

*Actual Battlefields
are indicated by stars★*







CHAPTER XX

THE WORK OF '63

THE war had now grown to enormous proportions. The Confederate States were draining every resource of men and means in order to support their armies. The superior energies of the North, though by no means exhausted, were greatly taxed. In the previous year, on the day after the battle of Malvern Hill, President Lincoln had issued a call for three hundred thousand additional troops. During the exciting days of Pope's retreat from the Rappahannock he sent forth another call for three hundred thousand, followed by a requisition of a draft of three hundred thousand more.

On the 1st day of January, 1863, the President issued one of the most important documents of modern times: The Emancipation Proclamation. The war had been begun with no well defined intention on the part of the government to free the slaves of the South. But the President and the Republican party looked with disfavor on the institution of slavery; during the progress of the war the sentiment of abolition had grown with great rapidity in the North; and when at last it became a military necessity to strike a blow at the

labor system of the Southern States, the step was taken with but little hesitancy or opposition. On the 22d of September the preliminary proclamation was made. It was to the effect that after the first of the following year the slaves in the States then in rebellion should be forever free. It did not affect the other slaveholding States.

The military movements of the new year began on the Mississippi. After his defeat at Chickasaw



Bayou, General Sherman laid a plan for the capture of Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River. In the first days of January an expedition set out for that purpose, the land forces being commanded by General McClernand, and the flotilla by Admiral Porter. Entering the Arkansas, the Union forces reached their destination on the 10th of the month, fought a hard battle with the Confederates, gained a victory, and on the next day received the surrender of the post with nearly five thousand prisoners. After this success the expedition returned to the vicinity of Vicksburg, in order to co-operate with General Grant in a second effort to capture that stronghold of the Confederacy.

Again the Union forces were collected at Memphis, and embarked on the Mississippi. A landing

was effected at the Yazoo; but the capture of the city from that direction was decided to be impracticable. The first three months of the year were spent by General Grant in beating about the bayous, swamps, and hills around Vicksburg, in the hope of getting a position in the rear of the town. A canal was cut across a bend in the river with a view to turning the channel of the Mississippi and opening a passage for the gunboats. But a flood in the river washed the works away, and the enterprise ended in failure. Then another canal was begun, only to be abandoned. Public opinion grew impatient and Lincoln was importuned to dismiss Grant. Finally, in the first days of April, it was determined at all hazards to run the fleet past the Vicksburg batteries. Accordingly, on the night of the 16th, the boats were made ready and silently dropped down the river. All of a sudden the guns burst forth with terrible discharges of shot and shell, pelting the passing steamers; but they went by with comparatively little damage, and found a safe position below the city.

Elated with the successful passage of his fleet, General Grant now marched his land forces down the right bank of the Mississippi and formed a junction with the squadron. On the 30th of April he crossed the river and on the following day fought and defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson. The evacuation of Grand Gulf, at the mouth of the Big Black River, followed immediately afterward. The Union army now swept

around to the rear of Vicksburg. On the morning of the 12th a strong Confederate force was encountered at Raymond, and after a severe engagement was repulsed. Pressing on toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, General Grant's right wing, under Sherman and McPherson, met the advance of General Johnston's division coming to re-enforce the garrison of Vicksburg. Here, on the 14th of the month, a decisive battle was fought; the Confederates were beaten, and the city of Jackson captured. The communications of Vicksburg were now cut off, and General Pemberton was obliged to repel the Federals or suffer a siege. Sallying forth with the greater part of his forces, he met the Union army on the 16th at Champion Hills, on Baker's Creek. In the battle that followed, as well as in a conflict at the Black River Bridge on the 17th, Grant was again victorious, and Pemberton retired with his disheartened troops within the defenses of Vicksburg.

The investment of the city was rapidly completed. Believing that the Confederate works could be carried by storm, General Grant, on the 19th of May, ordered an assault, which resulted in a repulse with terrible losses. Three days afterward the attempt was renewed, but the assailants were again hurled back with a still greater destruction of life. The Union loss in these two unsuccessful assaults amounted to nearly three thousand men. Finding that Vicksburg could not be taken by storm, General Grant began a regular siege, and pressed it with ever increasing severity. Ad-

miral Porter got his gunboats into position and bombarded the unfortunate town incessantly. Reinforcements swelled the Union ranks. On the other hand, the garrison of the city was in a starving condition. Sickness soon became prevalent. The people moved from their homes and lived in caves to escape the shells that Grant was throwing into the city. Still, Pemberton held out for nearly six weeks; and it was not until the 3d of July that he was driven to surrender. By the act of capitulation the defenders of Vicksburg, numbering thirty-seven thousand, became prisoners of war. Thousands of small arms, hundreds of cannon, vast quantities of ammunition and warlike stores were the fruits of this great Union victory, by which the national government gained more and the Confederacy lost more than in any previous struggle of the war.

Meanwhile, General Banks, who had superseded General Butler in command of the department of the gulf, had been conducting a vigorous campaign on the lower Mississippi. Early in January, from his headquarters at Baton Rouge, he advanced into Louisiana, reached Brashear City, and shortly afterward gained a victory over a Confederate force at a place called Bayou Teche. Returning to the Mississippi, he moved northward to Port Hudson, invested the place, and began a siege. The beleaguered garrison, under General Gardner, made a brave defense; and it was not until the 8th of July, when the news of the fall of Vicksburg was borne to Port Hudson, that the com-

mandant, with his force of more than six thousand men, was obliged to capitulate.

For a while after the battle of Murfreesboro Rosecrans remained inactive. Late in the spring Colonel Streight's command went on a raid into Georgia, met the division of the Confederate general Forrest, was surrounded, and captured. In the latter part of June, Rosecrans by a series of flank movements succeeded in crowding General Bragg out of Tennessee into Georgia. The Union general followed his antagonist and took post at Chattanooga, on the left bank of the Tennessee. During the summer months General Bragg was heavily re-enforced by Johnston from Mississippi, and Longstreet from Virginia. On the 19th of September he turned upon the Federal army at Chickamauga Creek, in the northwest angle of Georgia. During this day a hard battle was fought, but night fell on the scene with the victory undecided. On the following morning the fight was renewed, the Confederates moving on in powerful masses, and the Federals holding their ground with unflinching courage. After the conflict had continued for some hours, the national battle line was opened by General Wood, acting under mistaken orders. The Confederate general, seeing his advantage, thrust forward a heavy column into the gap, cut the Union army in two, and drove the shattered right wing in utter rout from the field. General Thomas, with a desperate firmness hardly equaled in the annals of war, held the left until nightfall, and then, under cover

of darkness, withdrew into Chattanooga, where the defeated army of Rosecrans had already found shelter. The battle is generally conceded to be a Confederate victory. Had it not been for General Thomas, who this day earned for himself the sobriquet of "The Rock of Chickamauga," a complete rout would have resulted.

General Bragg at once pressed forward to besiege Chattanooga. The Federal lines of communication were cut off, and for a while the army of Rosecrans was in danger of being annihilated. Food was getting scarce for both men and animals. Within a few weeks ten thousand horses and mules died from starvation. But General Hooker arrived with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee River, and brought relief to the besieged. At the same time General Grant, being promoted to the chief command of the Western armies, assumed the direction of affairs at Chattanooga. General Sherman also arrived with his division, so strengthening the Army of the Cumberland that offensive operations were at once renewed. Grant had about eighty thousand men. On the 24th of November, Lookout Mountain, with its cloud-capped summit overlooking the town and river, was successfully stormed by the division of General Hooker. On the following day Bragg's positions on Missionary Ridge were also carried, and his army fell back in full retreat toward Ringgold, Georgia. The battle of Lookout Mountain, or the "Battle above the Clouds," is one of the unique contests of the Civil

War. During the fight a heavy, cloudlike mist made the top of the mountain invisible from below. At Missionary Ridge some of the most desperate fighting of the war occurred. The Confederates occupied the summit of a long ridge. There were fifteen thousand of them, with fifty cannon. To take this ridge seemed next to impossible. In the face of this formidable opposition the Union charge was made. They swept across the plain and then up the hill. It was here that General Philip H. Sheridan earned for himself an enviable name for his bravery. Dismounting at the foot of the hill, he plunged through the under-growth with sword in hand at the head of his men. Without hesitation the attacking columns, with hundreds of their comrades falling beneath the blistering fire, soon reached the brow of the hill, from where the Confederates soon fled in wild disorder.

In the mean time, General Burnside was making an effort to hold East Tennessee. On the 1st of September he arrived with his command at Knoxville, where he was received by the people with lively satisfaction. After the battle of Chickamauga, General Longstreet was sent into East Tennessee to counteract the movements of the Unionists. On his march to Knoxville he over-took and captured several small detachments of Federal troops, then invested the town and began a siege. On the 29th of November the Confederates made an attempt to carry Knoxville by storm, but were repulsed with heavy losses. After

the retreat of Bragg from Chattanooga, General Sherman marched to the relief of Burnside; but before he could reach Knoxville, Longstreet raised the siege and retreated into Virginia.

On the day of the surrender of Vicksburg the Confederate general Holmes, with a force of nearly eight thousand men, made an attack on Helena, Arkansas, but was repulsed with a loss of one-fifth of his men. On the 13th of August the town of Lawrence, Kansas, was sacked and burned, and a hundred and forty persons killed by a band of desperate fellows led by a chieftain called Quantrell. On the 10th of September the Federal general Steele reached Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, captured the city, and restored the national authority in the State.

To the summer of this year belongs the story of General John Morgan's great raid through Kentucky into Indiana and Ohio. His starting point was Sparta, Tennessee; the number of his forces three thousand. Pushing northward through Kentucky, he gathered strength, reached the Ohio below Louisville, crossed into Indiana, and began his march to the north and east. He was resisted at Corydon and other points by bodies of home guards, and hotly pursued by a force under General Hobson. Morgan crossed into Ohio at Harrison, made a circuit to the north of Cincinnati, passing almost beneath the eyes of the militia sent to intercept him. He crossed the southern part of Ohio, burning bridges and buildings, stealing horses to take the place of his jaded

ones and, plundering as he went along, he attempted to cross the Ohio River at Buffington Island near Pomeroy. But the Ohio was now guarded by gunboats, and the raiders were driven back. He succeeded in getting a portion of his men on the other side, but seeing his inability to get all across, he swam his horse back to the Ohio side. With this remnant of his force—about six hundred—he continued his raid, hoping to make the passage farther up the river. With numbers constantly diminishing the Confederate leader pressed on, fighting and flying, until he came near the town of New Lisbon, where he was surrounded and captured by the brigade of General Shackelford. For nearly four months Morgan was held as a prisoner in the Ohio Penitentiary; then making his escape, he fled to Kentucky, and finally reached Richmond.

The year 1863 was marked by some movements of importance on the seacoast. On the 1st of January General Marmaduke, by a brilliant exploit, captured Galveston, Texas. By this means the Confederates secured a port of entry, of which they were greatly in need in the Southwest. On the 7th of April Admiral Dupont, with a powerful fleet of ironclads, made an attempt to capture Charleston, but the squadron was driven back much damaged. In the last days of June the siege of the city was begun anew by a strong land force, under command of General Q. A. Gillmore, assisted by the fleet under Admiral Dahlgren. The Federal army first effected a lodgment on Folly

Island, and soon afterward on the south end of Morris Island, where batteries were planted bearing upon Fort Sumter in the channel and Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg at the northern extremity of the island. After the bombardment had continued for some time, General Gillmore, on the 18th of July, made an attempt to carry Fort Wagner by assault, but was repulsed with a loss of more than fifteen hundred men. The attack on Fort Wagner is especially noted for the number of negroes who participated in the battle. The siege then progressed until the night of the 6th of September, when the Confederates evacuated the fort and Battery Gregg, and retired to Charleston. Gillmore thus obtained a position within four miles of the city, and brought his guns to bear on the wharves and buildings of the lower town. Meanwhile, the walls of Fort Sumter on the side next to Morris Island had been pounded into powder by the land batteries and guns of the monitors. The harbor and city, however, still remained under control of the Confederates, the only gain of the Federals being the establishment of a blockade so complete as to seal up the port of Charleston.

During the spring and summer of 1863 the Army of the Potomac was engaged in several desperate conflicts. After his fatal repulse at Fredericksburg General Burnside was superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who, in the latter part of April, moved forward with his army in full force, crossed the Rappahannock and the Rapidan,

and reached Chancellorsville. Hooker made his boasts that Lee would either have to come out and fight or flee. Lee concluded to do the former. The first day of May found the two armies opposite each other. Hooker seems to have completely lost his head. To the surprise of everyone he gave up a strong position and fell back to one that was untenable. The fury of the battle did not come until, on the evening of the 2d of May, he was attacked by the veteran Army of Northern Virginia, led by Lee and Jackson. The latter general, with extraordinary daring, put himself at the head of a division of thirty thousand men, filed off from the battlefield, marched fifteen miles, outflanked the Union army, burst like a thundercloud upon the right wing, and swept everything to destruction. Nothing could stem the terrible onslaught. The Unionists fought as well as they could, but they had been trapped and Stonewall Jackson's legions were irresistible. But it was the last of Stonewall's battles. As night came on, with ruin impending over the Federal army, the brave Confederate leader, riding through the gathering darkness with his staff, received a volley from *his own lines*, and fell mortally wounded. His party had been mistaken for Union horsemen. He lingered a week, and died at Guinea Station, leaving a gap in the Confederate ranks which no other man could fill.

On the morning of the 3d the battle was furiously renewed. General Sedgwick, attempting to re-enforce Hooker from Fredericksburg, was de-

feated and driven across the Rappahannock. The main army was crowded between Chancellorsville and the river, where it remained in the utmost peril until the evening of the 5th, when General Hooker succeeded in withdrawing his forces to the northern bank. The Union losses in these terrible battles amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners to about seventeen thousand; that of the Confederates was less by five thousand. Taken altogether, the campaign was the most disastrous of any in which the Federal army had yet been engaged.

The defeat of General Hooker was to some extent mitigated by the successful cavalry raid of General Stoneman. On the 29th of April he crossed the Rappahannock with a body of ten thousand men, tore up the Virginia Central Railroad, dashed on to the Chickahominy, cut General Lee's communications, swept around within a few miles of Richmond, and on the 8th of May recrossed the Rappahannock in safety. At the same time, General Peck, the Federal commandant of Suffolk, on the Nansemond, was successfully resisting a siege conducted by General Longstreet. The Confederates retreated from before the town on the very day of the Union disaster at Chancellorsville.

Elated with his success on the Rappahannock, General Lee determined to carry the war into Maryland and Pennsylvania. In the first week of June he moved forward with his whole army, crossed the Potomac, and captured Hagerstown.

He had left Generals Stewart and Hill with a large force to prevent the Union army from following. On the 22d of June the invaders entered Chambersburg, and then pressed on through Carlisle to within a few miles of Harrisburg.

The desire of the Confederates to carry the war into the North was now gratified. But they were not to be unmolested in their efforts, for General Hooker, at the head of the Army of the Potomac, pushed forward to strike his antagonist. It was evident that a great

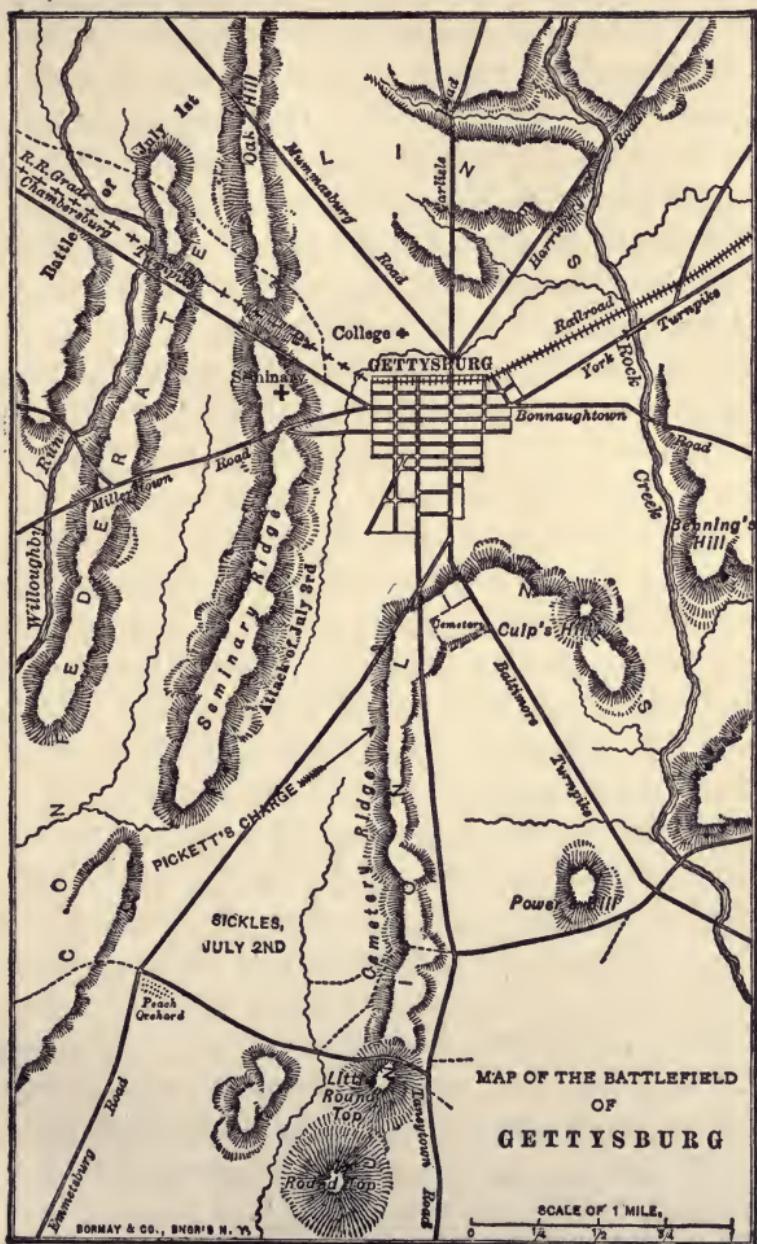


General Lee
"Marse Robert"

and decisive battle was at hand. General Lee, abandoning his purpose of invasion, rapidly concentrated his forces near Gettysburg, the capital of Adams county, Pennsylvania. On the very eve of battle the command of the Union army was transferred from General Hooker to General George G. Meade, who hastened to the scene of the impending conflict. Here the two armies, each numbering about eighty thousand men, were brought face to face. Gettysburg was a rural village with a population of about fifteen hundred. Near the town were two prominent parallel ridges

to which had been given the names of Seminary Ridge and Cemetery Ridge. These were occupied respectively by the Confederate and Union forces. Between and about these two ridges, the greatest battle ever fought on the American continent was about to take place. On the 1st of July the fearful struggle began, and for three days the conflict raged. On the first afternoon the fighting was severe. The Federals were being gradually pressed back toward Gettysburg. Evening came and the Union ranks were in a state of disorganization. The gallant Reynolds had met his death early in the fight and Meade had not yet arrived. About four o'clock Hancock the Superb came upon the field. His presence gave courage to the disheartened men and they waited patiently for the coming of another day to renew the battle. The second day dawned clear and bright. All forenoon and the earlier hours of the afternoon the two giant armies lay before each other. At last the Union left moved out and soon the roll of musketry became a continuous roar. The Union lines were pressed back and the ground over which they had passed was covered with the bodies of their fallen comrades. The Confederates had gained a real advantage in taking Culp's Hill, one of the strong positions held by the Federals. The battle was renewed early the next day. It began with a heavy bombardment that shook the hills about Gettysburg. The Union army after severe fighting regained the position it had held the previous day. Then there came a lull, for Lee was mass-

ing his artillery on Seminary Ridge. At one o'clock from the mouths of two miles of bristling cannon, a sheet of fire burst across the crest of the ridge. The Union guns made answer and the deep cannonading reverberated across the Pennsylvania hills. The battle reached its climax on the afternoon of the 3d, when a Confederate column, nearly three miles long, headed by the Virginians under General Pickett, made a final and desperate charge on the Union center. They belonged to the corps of Longstreet. From behind the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge, they emerged in a magnificent double column. With banners flying and bayonets glittering they marched toward the Union lines where Hancock stood with his men awaiting them. Suddenly the cannon boomed and the hissing shells were sent exploding into their ranks. Still on they came. Then the musketry hissed its message of death into their midst, and still they came. The fire from the throats of cannon and the leaden hail from the musketry doubled in volume, and still they came. Would nothing stop the brave Southerners! Up to the Union works they rushed, but their strength had gone and with it went the hope of the Confederacy. The onset had been in vain, and the brave men who made it were mowed down with terrible slaughter. The victory remained with the national army, and Lee was obliged to turn back with his shattered legions to the Potomac. The fear of an invasion of the North had now passed. The entire Confederate loss in this greatest battle



of the war was nearly thirty thousand; that of the Federals in killed, wounded, and missing, twenty-three thousand a hundred and eighty-six. General Lee withdrew his forces into Virginia, and the Union army resumed its old position on the Potomac and the Rappahannock.

During this year the administration of President Lincoln was beset with many difficulties. The war debt of the nation was piling up mountains high. The last calls for volunteers had not been fully met. The anti-war party of the North had grown more bold, and openly denounced the measures of the government. The most acute form of this opposition occurred in Ohio. President Lincoln had freely used the power of suspending the writ of habeas corpus. There was considerable opposition to substituting the military for the civil authority, even among the political friends of the administration. Many arbitrary arrests had been made and this gave the opposition party an opportunity for more vigorous denunciation of the President's policy. Clement Laird Vallandigham was a popular leader of the opposition. Because of certain alleged incendiary remarks he had made in a speech he was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to imprisonment. This sentence was changed to banishment to the Confederacy. He escaped into Canada and while there the Democratic party in Ohio nominated him for governor. Feeling ran high, but he was overwhelmingly defeated. On the 3d of March the

Congscription Act was passed by Congress, and two months afterward the President ordered a general draft of three hundred thousand men. All able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five years were subject to the requisition. The measure was bitterly denounced by the opponents of the war, and in many places the draft officers were forcibly resisted. On the 13th of July, in the city of New York, a vast mob rose in arms, demolished the buildings which were occupied by the provost marshals, burned the colored orphan asylum, attacked the police, and killed about a hundred people, most of whom were negroes. For three days the authorities of the city were set at defiance; but a large force of regulars and volunteers gathered at the scene, and the riot was suppressed with a strong hand. After the fall of Vicksburg and the retreat of Lee from Pennsylvania, there were fewer acts of domestic violence.

As a means of procuring soldiers the draft amounted to nothing; only about fifty thousand men were thus directly obtained. But volunteering was greatly quickened by the measure, and the employment of substitutes soon filled the ranks of the army. Such, however, were the terrible losses by battle and disease and the expiration of enlistments that in October the President issued another call for three hundred thousand men. At the same time it was provided that any delinquency in meeting the demand would be supplied by a

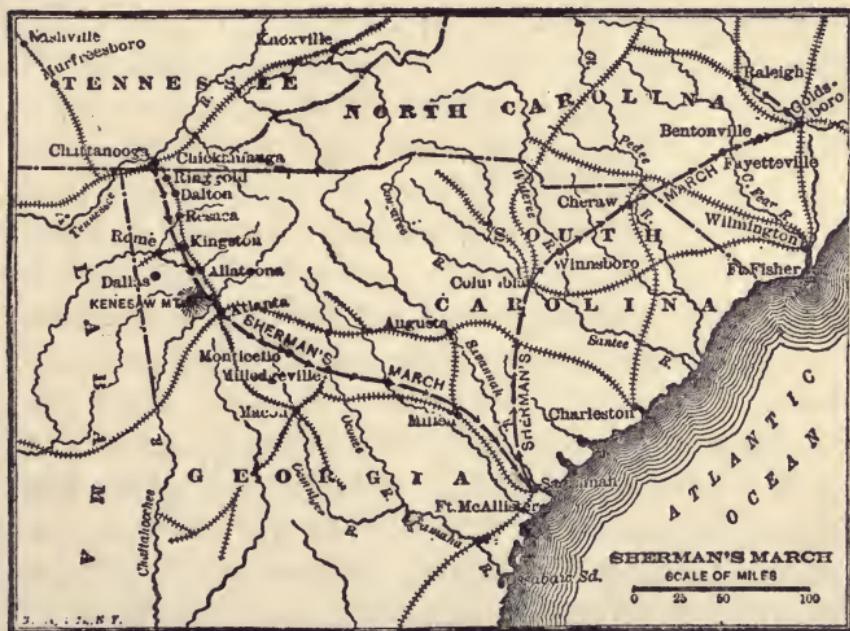
draft in the following January. By these active measures the columns of the Union army were made more powerful than ever. In the armies of the South, on the other hand, there were already symptoms of exhaustion, and the most rigorous conscription was necessary to fill the thinned but still courageous ranks of the Confederacy.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CLOSING CONFLICTS

As in the previous year, the military movements of 1864 began in the West. In the beginning of February General Sherman left Vicksburg with the purpose of destroying the railroad connections of Eastern Mississippi. Marching toward Alabama, he reached Meridian on the 15th of the month. Here, where the railroad from Mobile to Corinth intersects the line from Vicksburg to Montgomery, the tracks were torn up for a distance of a hundred and fifty miles. Bridges were burned, locomotives and cars destroyed, vast quantities of cotton and corn given to the flames. At Meridian General Sherman expected the arrival of a strong force of Federal cavalry which had been sent out from Memphis, under command of General Smith. The latter advanced into Mississippi, but was met, a hundred miles north of

Meridian, by the cavalry of Forrest, and driven back to Memphis. Disappointed of the expected juncture of his forces, General Sherman retraced his course to Vicksburg. Forrest continued his raid northward, entered Tennessee, and on the 24th of March captured Union City. Pressing on, he reached Paducah, Kentucky, made an as-



sault on Fort Anderson, in the suburbs of the town, but was repulsed with a loss of three hundred men. Turning back into Tennessee, he came upon Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, seventy miles above Memphis. The place was defended by five hundred and sixty soldiers, about half of whom were negroes. Forrest, having gained the outer defenses, demanded a surrender, but was refused.

He then ordered an assault, and carried the fort by storm.

To the spring of 1864 belongs the story of the Red River Expedition, conducted by General Banks. The object had in view was the capture of Shreveport, the seat of the Confederate government of Louisiana. A strong land force was to march up Red River, supported by a fleet of gun-boats, under command of Admiral Porter. The Confederates retreated up the river to Alexandria, and on the 16th of March that city was occupied by the Federals. Three days afterward Natchitoches was captured; but here the road turned from the river and further coöperation between the gun-boats and the army was impossible. The flotilla proceeded upstream toward Shreveport, and the land forces whirled off in a circuit to the left.

On the 8th of April, when the advanced brigades were approaching the town of Mansfield, they were suddenly attacked by the Confederates in full force and advantageously posted. After a short and bloody engagement, the Federals were completely routed. The victors made a vigorous pursuit as far as Pleasant Hill, where they were met on the next day by the main body of the Union army. The battle was renewed with great spirit, and the Federals were barely saved from ruin by the hard fighting of the division of General Smith, who covered the retreat to the river. Nearly three thousand men, twenty pieces of artillery, and the supply trains of the Federal army

were lost in these disastrous battles. With great difficulty the flotilla descended the river from the direction of Shreveport; for the Confederates had now planted batteries on the banks. When the Federals had retreated as far as Alexandria, they were again brought to a standstill; the river had fallen to so low a stage that the gunboats could not pass the rapids. The squadron was finally saved from its peril by the skill of Colonel Bailey, of Wisconsin, who constructed a dam across the river, raising the water so that the vessels could be floated over. The whole expedition returned as rapidly as possible to the Mississippi. To the national government the Red River expedition was a source of much shame and mortification. General Banks was relieved of his command, and General Canby was appointed to succeed him.

On the 2d of March, 1864, General Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. The high grade of lieutenant-general was revived by act of Congress, and conferred upon him. This position had been held



General Grant, from a
Statue in Prospect Park,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

by only two men previously, George Washington and Winfield Scott. No less than seven hundred thousand soldiers were now to move at his command. The first month after his appointment was spent in planning the great campaigns of the year. These were two in number. The Army of the Potomac, under command of Meade and the general-in-chief, was to advance upon Richmond, still defended by the Army of Northern Virginia, under Lee. General Sherman, commanding the army at Chattanooga, now numbering a hundred thousand men, was to march against Atlanta, which was defended by the Confederates, under General Johnston. To these two great movements all other military operations were to be subordinate.

On the 7th of May General Sherman moved forward from Chattanooga. At Dalton he was confronted by the Confederate army, sixty thousand strong. After some maneuvering and fighting, he succeeded in turning Johnston's flank, and obliged him to fall back to Resaca. After two hard battles on the 14th and 15th of May, this place was also carried, and the Confederates retreated by way of Calhoun and Kingston to Dallas. Here, on the 28th, Johnston made a second stand, intrenched himself, and fought, but was again outnumbered, outflanked, and compelled to fall back to Lost Mountain. From this position he was forced on the 17th of June, after three days of desultory fighting. The next stand of the Confederates was made on the Great and

Little Kenesaw Mountains. From this line on the 22d of June the division of General Hood made a fierce attack upon the Union center, but was repulsed with heavy losses. Five days afterward General Sherman attempted to carry the Great Kenesaw by storm. The assault was made with great audacity, but ended in a dreadful repulse and a loss of three thousand men. Among the dead was General Daniel McCook, one of the family of the famous "Fighting McCooks" of Ohio. Sherman, undismayed by his reverse, resumed his former tactics, outflanked his antagonist, and on the 3d of July compelled him to retreat across the Chattahoochee. By the 10th of the month the whole Confederate army had retired within the defenses of Atlanta.

This stronghold of the Confederacy was at once besieged. Here were the great machine shops, foundries, car works, and dépôts of supplies upon the possession of which so much depended. At the very beginning of the siege the cautious and skillful General Johnston was superseded by the rash but daring General J. B. Hood. It was the policy of the latter *to fight* at whatever hazard. This change was an unfortunate one for the cause of the Confederacy. On the 20th, 22d, and 28th of July he made three desperate assaults on the Union lines around Atlanta, but was repulsed with dreadful losses in each engagement. It was in the beginning of the second of these battles that the brave General James B. McPherson, the pride of the Union army, was killed while

reconnoitering the Confederate lines. This was a distinct loss to the Union army. He had the entire confidence of General Grant and was one of the ablest generals of the war. In the three conflicts the Confederates lost more men than Johnston had lost in all his masterly retreating and fighting between Chattanooga and Atlanta. For more than a month the siege was pressed with great vigor. At last, by an incautious movement, Hood separated his army; Sherman thrust a column between the two divisions. Hood, finding his army hopelessly divided, escaped during the night of September 1. On the next day the Union army marched into the captured city. Since leaving Chattanooga General Sherman had lost fully thirty thousand men; and the Confederate losses were even greater.

By retiring from Atlanta, Hood saved his army. He remained in the neighborhood of Atlanta for some weeks with seemingly no definite object in view. It now became his policy to strike northward into Tennessee, and thus compel Sherman to evacuate Georgia. He hoped to defeat any portions of the Union army which he might meet in his northward march. He even dreamed that he would be able to take his victorious regiments across Kentucky and finally reach Louisville on the Ohio. But Sherman had no notion of losing his vantage ground; and after following Hood north of the Chattahoochee, he turned back to Atlanta and prepared for his march to the seaboard. The Confederate general with a force

of fifty thousand now swept up through Northern Alabama, crossed the Tennessee at Florence and advanced on Nashville. Meanwhile, General Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, had been detached from Sherman's army at Atlanta and sent northward to confront Hood in Tennessee. General Schofield, who commanded the Fed-



General Sherman
From a Statue at the Entrance
of Central Park, N. Y. City

eral forces in the southern part of the State, fell back before the Confederates and took post at Franklin, eighteen miles south of Nashville. Here, on the 30th of November, he was attacked by Hood's legions, and after a hard-fought battle held them in check till nightfall, when he escaped across the river and retreated within the defenses of Nashville. At this place all of General

Thomas's forces were rapidly concentrated. A line of intrenchments was drawn around the city on the south. Hood came on, confident of victory. Thomas was not ready to accept the challenge. Days passed and still no sign of action from the Union general. Grant grew impatient and telegraph lines were kept busy urging Thomas to do something. Even Lincoln shared in the idea that Thomas was not doing his utmost. Finally on December the ninth he was ready. Then came a storm of sleet which covered the ground with a glassy sheet of ice, making it impossible for an army to maneuver. Thomas decided to wait for a thaw. Another week passed and the President sent General John A. Logan to supersede Thomas. He got only as far as Louisville when he heard that the battle of Nashville had been fought and won for the Union forces.

On December 15th and 16th in accordance with the best plans of warfare, General Thomas marshaled his regiments. It was the most perfectly conceived battle of the Civil War, and is used to-day as a model in the European military schools. The execution of the battle was in accord with the plans. Whenever Thomas struck it was with sledge-hammer blows. Hood's army could not resist such onslaughts and it was completely demoralized and routed. For many days of freezing weather his shattered columns were pursued, until at last they found refuge in Alabama. The Confederate army was ruined, and the rash general who had led it to destruction was relieved of

his command. "The Rock of Chickamauga" had fallen upon him and he was crushed.

On the 14th of November General Sherman burned Atlanta and began his famous March to the Sea. His army of veterans numbered sixty thousand men. He took with him in his train sixty-four heavy guns, six hundred ambulances, and twenty-five hundred wagons, each drawn by six mules. Believing that Hood's army would be destroyed in Tennessee, and knowing that no Confederate force could withstand him in front, he cut his communications with the North, abandoned his base of supplies, and struck out boldly for the seacoast, more than two hundred and fifty miles away. As had been foreseen, the Confederates could offer no successful resistance. The Union army swept on through Macon and Milledgeville; reached the Ogeechee and crossed in safety; captured Gibson and Waynesborough; and on the 10th of December arrived in the vicinity of Savannah. On the 13th Fort McAllister, below the city, was carried by storm by the division of General Hazen. On the night of the 20th General Hardee, the Confederate commandant, escaped from Savannah with fifteen thousand men and retreated to Charleston. On the following morning the national advance entered, and on the 22d General Sherman made his headquarters in the city. He thereupon sent to President Lincoln the now familiar dispatch, "I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of

ammunition and also twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." On his march from Atlanta he had lost only five hundred and sixty-seven men.

The month of January, 1865, was spent by the Union army at Savannah. On the 1st of February General Sherman, having garrisoned the city, began his march against Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. At the various rivers the bridges had been destroyed and his advance was feebly opposed; but the Confederates had no sufficient force to stay his progress. On the 17th of the month Columbia, defended by General Wade Hampton, was surrendered without serious resistance. From some cause the town took fire, which soon spread, and much of the city was reduced to ashes. On the same night General Hardee, having destroyed all the public property of Charleston and kindled fires which laid four squares in ashes, evacuated the city; and on the following morning the national forces entered from James's Island. From Columbia General Sherman directed his course into North Carolina, and on the 11th of March captured Fayetteville.

General Johnston had now been recalled to the command of the Confederate forces, and the advance of the Union army began to be seriously opposed. A short distance north of Fayetteville, General Hardee made a stand, but was repulsed with considerable loss. When, on the 19th of March, General Sherman was incautiously approaching Bentonville, he was suddenly attacked by the ever vigilant Johnston, and for a while

the Union army, after all its marches and victories, was in danger of destruction. But the tremendous fighting of General Jefferson C. Davis's division saved the day, and on the 21st Sherman entered Goldsborough unopposed. Here he was re-enforced by a strong column from Thomas's army under General Schofield, and another from Wilmington commanded by General Terry. The Federal army now turned to the northwest, and on the 13th of April entered Raleigh. This was the end of the great march; and here, thirteen days after his arrival, General Sherman received the surrender of Johnston's army.

Meanwhile, important events had occurred on the gulf and the Atlantic coast. In the beginning of August, 1864, Admiral Farragut bore down with a powerful squadron upon the defenses of Mobile. This was the most important harbor on the gulf coast. It had been a place for the Confederate blockade runners throughout the war. The entrance to the harbor of this city was commanded on the left by Fort Gaines, and on the right by Fort Morgan. The harbor itself was defended by a Confederate fleet and the monster ironclad ram *Tennessee*. On the 5th of August Farragut prepared for battle and ran past the forts into the harbor. He had been waiting for the presence of a land force to coöperate with him. Finally General Gordon Granger landed a considerable army on an island at the mouth of the bay. All was now in readiness for the battle. In order to direct the move-

ments of his vessels, the brave old admiral mounted to the maintop of his flagship, the *Hartford*, lashed himself to the rigging that he might not fall if shot, and from that high perch gave his commands during the battle. The fleet passed through an incessant hail of shot and shell. One of the Union ships struck a torpedo and went to the bottom. The rest attacked and dispersed the Confederate squadron; but just as the day seemed won the terrible *Tennessee* came down at full speed to strike and sink the *Hartford*. The latter avoided the blow; and then followed one of the fiercest conflicts of the war. The Union ironclads closed around their black antagonist and battered her with their beaks and fifteen-inch bolts of iron until she surrendered. Two days afterward Fort Gaines was taken; and on the 23d of the month Fort Morgan was obliged to capitulate. The port of Mobile was effectually sealed up.

Not less important to the Union cause was the capture of Fort Fisher. This powerful fortress commanded the entrance to Cape Fear River and Wilmington—the last seaport held by the Confederates. In December Admiral Porter was sent with the most powerful American squadron ever afloat to besiege and take the fort. General Butler, with a land force of six thousand five hundred men, accompanied the expedition. On the 24th of the month the bombardment began, and the troops were sent ashore with orders to carry the works by storm. When General Weitzel, who led the column, came near enough to the fort to re-

connoiter, he decided that an assault could only end with the destruction of his army. General Butler held the same opinion, and the enterprise was abandoned. Admiral Porter remained before Fort Fisher with his fleet, and General Butler returned with the land forces to Fortress Monroe. Early in January the same troops were sent back to Wilmington, under command of General Terry. The siege was at once renewed by the army and the fleet, and on the 15th of the month Fort Fisher was taken by storm, and the blockade of the entire Confederate coast was now complete.

In the previous October the control of Albemarle Sound had been secured by a daring exploit of Lieutenant Cushing of the Federal navy. These waters were commanded by a tremendous iron ram called the *Albemarle*. In order to destroy the dreaded vessel a number of daring volunteers, led by Cushing, embarked in a small steamer, and on the night of the 27th of October entered the Roanoke. The ram was discovered lying at the harbor of Plymouth. Cautiously approaching, the lieutenant with his own hands sank a terrible torpedo under the Confederate ship, exploded it, and left the ram a ruin. The adventure cost the lives or capture of all of Cushing's party except himself and one other, who escaped.

During the progress of the war the commerce of the United States had suffered dreadfully from the attacks of Confederate cruisers. As early as 1861 the Southern Congress had granted commissions to privateers; but neutral nations would not

allow such vessels to bring prizes into their ports, and the Privateering Act was of little direct benefit to the Confederacy. But the commerce of the United States was greatly injured. The first Confederate ship sent out was the *Savannah*, which was captured on the same day that she escaped from Charleston. In June of 1861 the *Sumter*, commanded by Captain Semmes, ran the blockade at New Orleans, and for seven months did fearful work with the Union merchantmen. But in February of 1862 Semmes was chased into the harbor of Gibraltar, where he was obliged to sell his vessel and discharge his crew. In the previous October the *Nashville* ran out from Charleston, went to England, and returned with a cargo worth three millions of dollars. In March of 1863 she was sunk by a Union ironclad in the mouth of the Savannah River.

The ports of the Southern States were now so closely blockaded that war vessels could no longer be sent abroad. In this emergency the Confederates turned to the shipyards of Great Britain, and from that vantage ground began to build and equip their cruisers. In spite of the remonstrances of the United States, the British government connived at this proceeding; and here was laid the foundation of a difficulty which afterward cost the treasury of England fifteen millions of dollars. In the harbor of Liverpool the *Florida* was fitted out; and going to sea in the summer of 1862, she succeeded in running into Mobile Bay. Escaping in the following January, she destroyed fifteen

merchantmen, was captured in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, and brought into Hampton Roads, where an accidental collision sent her to the bottom. The *Georgia*, the *Olustee*, the *Shenandoah*, and the *Chickamauga*, all built at the shipyards of Glasgow, Scotland, escaped to sea and made great havoc with the merchant ships of the United States. At the capture of Fort Fisher the *Chickamauga* and another cruiser called the *Tallahassee* were blown up by the Confederates. The *Georgia* was captured in 1863, and the *Shenandoah* continued abroad until the close of the war.

Most destructive of all the Confederate vessels was the famous *Alabama*, built at Liverpool. She was a powerful vessel of a thousand tons burden and with engines of four hundred horsepower. While building she was known as "290." Her purpose was early suspected and Mr. Adams, the American minister, made protest to the British government. She succeeded in making her escape, sailed to the Azores, where she received equipment from two British vessels, and then started upon her career of destruction. Her commander was Captain Raphael Semmes, the same who had cruised in the *Sumter*. A majority of the crew of the *Alabama* were British subjects; her armament was entirely British; and whenever occasion required, the British flag was carried. In her whole career, involving the destruction of sixty-six vessels and a loss of ten million dollars to the merchant service of the United States, she never entered a Confederate port, but continued

abroad, capturing and burning. Early in the summer of 1864 Semmes entered the harbor of Cherbourg, France, and was there discovered by Captain Winslow, commander of the steamer *Kearsarge*. The commander of the *Alabama* sent a challenge to Captain Winslow to a naval duel. The challenge was accepted, and on the 19th of June he went out to give his antagonist battle. Seven miles from the shore the two ships closed for the death struggle. The contest was in plain view from the land. Thousands of spectators gathered upon the shore to witness the struggle between the ironclad monsters of the deep. The fight opened by the vessels circling around each other. On each revolution the distance between them was lessened. All the time they poured into each other broadside after broadside, and after a desperate battle of an hour's duration the white flag went up on the shattered *Alabama*; but before all the crew could be rescued, she went to the bottom of the sea, upon which she had plowed her way unmolested for three years. Semmes and a part of his officers and crew were picked up by the English yacht *Deerhound* and carried to Southampton.

The opposition to Mr. Lincoln's conduct of the war was not confined to the Democratic party. Within the Republican ranks appeared, as the Presidential campaign of 1864 approached, quite a formidable opposition. It was headed by such men as Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, and Thaddeus Stevens. It became the purpose of this

radical element of the Republican party to bring about the nomination of Salmon P. Chase. While Chase was not averse to accepting the nomination, he finally concluded not to allow his name to be used. At a convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, John C. Fremont was nominated for the Presidency. Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, and Representative Henry W. Davis, of Maryland, had caused to be published a manifesto, which severely arraigned the President. In the meantime the Republican Convention had met in Baltimore and had renominated Mr. Lincoln. The name Union was substituted for Republican to enlist the support of the War Democrats. As a further concession to this class of voters, one of the most ardent War Democrats and defenders of the Union, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was selected for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic party placed in nomination General George B. McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President. It declared in its platform that the war had been a failure and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities and the calling of a convention of the States, to restore peace to the Union. This declaration was ill-timed and Lincoln was triumphantly reelected. McClellan only carried three border States—Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey.

Several overtures were made looking toward peace. But Lincoln held that the only way to close the war would be on the basis of a restored Union and the abolition of slavery. As late as

February, 1865, Alexander H. Stephens on the part of the Confederates met Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Fortress Monroe. The President maintained his former position and in addition refused to treat with the Confederacy as a government. Mr. Stephens reminded the President that Charles I had treated with his rebellious subjects. Whereupon Mr. Lincoln sagely remarked that he was not strong on history, but that he did remember that Charles had lost his head.

The great campaign of the Army of the Potomac, under Grant and Meade, has been reserved for the closing narrative of the war. On the night of the 3d of May, 1864, the national camp at Culpepper was broken up, and the march on Richmond was begun. In three successive summers the Union army had been beaten back from that metropolis of the Confederacy. Now a hundred and forty thousand men, led by the lieutenant-general, were to begin the final struggle with the veterans of Lee. On the first day of the advance Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness, a country of oak woods and thickets west of Chancellorsville. He was immediately confronted and attacked by the Confederate army. Grant had not intended to offer battle here. During the 5th and 6th of the month the fighting continued incessantly with terrible losses on both sides. So terrible was the musketry that saplings and trees were cut off by the flying shells. Lee retired within his intrenchments, and Grant made a flank movement to the left in the direction of

Spottsylvania Courthouse. Here followed, from the morning of the 9th till the night of the 12th, one of the bloodiest struggles of the war. The Federals gained some ground and captured the division of General Stewart, the noted Confederate leader, who lost his life in the battle. On the last day General Hancock led a successful attack against a weak place in the Southern line. Four times the Confederates desperately tried to regain the position. The hand-to-hand fighting at "Bloody Angle" was something terrible. Men fell like flies until their bodies piled upon each other. The battle of Spottsylvania was one of the most bloody of modern times. The losses of Lee, who fought on the defensive, were less dreadful than those of his antagonist, but the toll of death on both sides reached thirty-six thousand.

After the battle of Spottsylvania, Grant again moved to the left, crossed the Pamunkey at Hanovertown, and came to a place called Cold Harbor, twelve miles northeast of Richmond. Here, on the 1st of June, he attacked the Confederates, strongly posted, but was repulsed with heavy losses. On the morning of the 3d the assault was renewed, and in the brief space of half an hour nearly twelve thousand Union soldiers fell dead or wounded before the Confederate intrenchments. The repulse of the Federals was complete, but they held their lines as firmly as ever. Since the beginning of the campaign the losses of the Army of the Potomac, including the corps of Burnside, had reached the enormous aggregate of

sixty thousand. During the same period the Confederates had lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners about thirty-five thousand men.

General Grant now changed his base to James River with a view to the capture of Petersburg and the conquest of Richmond from the southeast. This was the plan that McClellan had been forced to abandon two years before. General Butler had already moved with a strong division from Fortress Monroe, and on the 5th of May had taken Bermuda Hundred and City Point, at the mouth of the Appomattox. Advancing against Petersburg, he was met on the 16th by the corps of General Beauregard and driven back to his position at Bermuda Hundred, where he was obliged to intrench himself and act on the defensive. Here, on the 15th of June, he was joined by General Grant's whole army, and the combined forces moved against Petersburg. On the 17th and 18th several assaults were made on the Confederate intrenchments, but the works could not be carried. Lee's army was hurried within the defenses, and in the latter part of June Petersburg was regularly besieged.

Meanwhile, movements of great importance were taking place in the Shenandoah valley. When General Grant moved forward from the Rapidan, he sent General Sigel up the valley with a force of eight thousand men. While the latter was advancing southward he was met at New Market, fifty miles above Winchester, by an army of Confederate cavalry, under General Breckinridge. On

the 15th of May, Sigel was attacked and routed, and the command of his flying forces was transferred to General Hunter. Deeming the valley cleared, Breckinridge returned to Richmond, whereupon Hunter faced about, marched toward Lynchburg, came upon the Confederates at Piedmont, and gained a signal victory. From this place he advanced with his own forces and the cavalry troops of General Averill against Lynchburg; but finding that he had run into peril, he was obliged to retreat across the mountains into West Virginia. By this movement the valley of the Shenandoah was again exposed to an invasion by the Confederates.

In the hope of compelling Grant to raise the siege of Petersburg, Lee immediately dispatched General Early with orders to cross the Blue Ridge, sweep down the valley, invade Maryland, and threaten Washington city. With a force of twenty thousand men Early began his movement northward, and on the 5th of July crossed the Potomac. On the 9th he met the division of General Wallace on the Monocacy, and defeated him with serious losses. But the check given to the Confederates by the battle saved Washington and Baltimore from capture. After dashing up within gunshot of these cities, Early ordered a retreat, and on the 12th his forces recrossed the Potomac with vast quantities of plunder.

General Wright, who was sent in pursuit of Early's army, followed him as far as Winchester, and there, on the 24th of July, defeated a portion

of his forces. But Early wheeled upon his antagonist, and the Union troops were in turn driven across the Potomac. Following up his advantage, the Confederate general next invaded Pennsylvania, burned Chambersburg, and returned into the valley laden with spoils. Seeing the necessity of putting an end to these devastating raids, General Grant in the beginning of August appointed General Philip H. Sheridan to the command of the consolidated army on the upper Potomac. The troops thus placed at Sheridan's disposal numbered nearly forty thousand, and with these he at once moved up the valley. On the 19th of September he came upon Early's army at Winchester, attacked, and routed him in a hard-fought battle. On the 22d, he overtook the defeated army at Fisher's Hill, assaulted Early in his intrenchments, and gained another complete victory.

In accordance with orders given by the commander-in-chief, Sheridan now turned about to ravage the valley. He destroyed everything that could be used by the enemy. The ruinous work was fearfully well done. Dwellings were spared, but the barns filled with the season's harvest and the mills with flour fell beneath his consuming hand; and what with torch and ax and sword, there was nothing left between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies worth fighting for. Maddened by this destruction and stung by his defeats, the veteran Early rallied his shattered forces, gathered re-enforcements, and again entered the valley.

Sheridan had posted his army in a strong position on Cedar Creek, a short distance from Strasburg, and feeling secure, had gone to Washington. On the morning of the 19th of October, Early cautiously approached the Union camp, surprised it, burst in, carried the position, captured the artillery, and sent the routed troops flying in confusion toward Winchester. The Confederates pursued as far as Middletown, and there, believing the victory complete, paused to eat and rest. On the previous night Sheridan had returned to Winchester, and was now coming to rejoin his army. On his way he heard the sound of battle, rode twelve miles at full speed, met the panic-struck fugitives, rallied them with a word, turned upon the astonished Confederates, and gained one of the most signal victories of the war. Early's army was disorganized and ruined. Such was the end of the strife in the valley of the Shenandoah.

All fall and winter long, General Grant pressed the siege of Petersburg with varying success. On the 30th of July a mine was exploded under one of the forts. An assaulting column sprang forward to carry the works, gained some of the de-



Gen. Philip Sheridan
From a Statue in
Washington, D. C.

fenses, but after many of the assailants had found in the yawning crater their death as well as their graves, they were finally repulsed with heavy losses. On the 18th of August a division of the Union army seized the Weldon Railroad and held it against several desperate assaults, in which each army lost thousands of men. On the 27th of October there was a hard-fought battle on the Boydton road, south of Petersburg; and then the army went into quarters for the winter.

Late in February the struggle began anew. On the 27th of the month General Sheridan, who had moved from the Shenandoah, gained a victory over the forces of General Early at Waynesborough, and then joined the commander-in-chief at Petersburg. The last days of the Confederacy had come. Lee realized he could hold out but little longer. His purpose now was to escape from Petersburg and take his army southward to unite with Johnston. But he determined to make one more attack upon Grant's lines. He selected for the task General John B. Gordon, one of his most gallant commanders. General Gordon had made the successful attack the autumn before upon the sleeping army of Sheridan at Cedar Creek. Fort Stedman seemed to the strategic eye of the Southern commander a vulnerable point. With a valor that was born from sheer desperation, Gordon led his men to the Union walls. Grant had fore stalled such action, for he had been expecting it and was prepared for it. His artillery plowed through the ranks of gray and the venture ended

in failure. On the 1st of April a severe battle was fought at Five Forks, on the Southside Railroad, in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of six thousand prisoners. The occasion of this battle was Grant's sending Sheridan to cut off Lee's route of escape. In his attempt to gain the Confederate rear he ran into a strong force under Pickett. On the next day Grant ordered a general assault on the lines of Petersburg, and the works were carried. All of that April Sunday, the shells from Grant's guns were hurled into the streets of the beleaguered city. President Davis was at church when a note was handed him from Lee saying that Richmond must be evacuated. The news rapidly spread. Excitement reigned everywhere. People ran hither and thither in terror. The citadel of the Confederacy had fallen. On that night the army of General Lee and the members of the Confederate government fled from Richmond; and on the following morning that city, as well as Petersburg, was entered by the Federal army. The warehouses of the ill-fated Confederate capital were fired by the retreating soldiers, and the better part of the city was reduced to ruins.

The strife lasted but a few days longer. General Lee retreated as rapidly as possible to the southwest, hoping to join the army of General Johnston from Carolina. Once, at Deatonsville, the Confederates turned and fought with desperation, but were defeated with great losses. For five days the retreat and pursuit were kept up, and

then the great general, who had done his best to save the falling Confederacy, was brought to bay with the broken remnants of his army at Appomattox Court House. There, on the 9th of April, 1865, the work was done. General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia, and the military power of the Confederate States was hopelessly broken. General Grant signalized the end of the strife by granting to his conquered antagonist the most liberal and magnanimous terms. The army was released on parole, not to take up arms against the United States again. The officers retained their side arms, baggage, and horses, while the private soldiers were permitted to keep their horses, for, as Grant said, "they might need them in their spring plowing." After four dreadful years of bloodshed, devastation, and sorrow, the Civil War in the United States was at an end.

The Federal authority was rapidly extended over the Southern States. After the surrender of Lee and Johnston, there was no further hope of reorganizing the Confederacy. Mr. Davis and his cabinet escaped to Danville, and there for a few days kept up the forms of government. From that place they fled into North Carolina and were scattered. The ex-President with a few friends continued his flight through South Carolina into Georgia, and encamped near the village of Irwingsville, where, on the 10th of May, he was captured by General Wilson's cavalry. He was conveyed as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe, and kept in confinement until

May of 1867, when he was taken to Richmond to be tried on a charge of treason. He was admitted to bail; and his cause, after remaining untried for a year and a half, was finally dismissed.

During the latter part of May the war-worn Union veterans, sixty-five thousand in number, with their faded uniforms and tattered banners, passed in Grand Review through the broad streets of the National Capital. Then the regiments disbanded and the men returned to pursue the walks of peace and to bind up their country's wounds.

At the outbreak of the Civil War the financial credit of the United States had sunk to a very low ebb. By the organization of the army and navy the expenses of the government were at once swelled to an enormous aggregate. The price of gold and silver advanced so rapidly that the redemption of bank notes in coin soon became impossible; and on the 30th of December,

1861, the banks of New York, and afterward those of the whole country, suspended specie payments. Mr. Chase, the secretary of the treasury, first sought relief by issuing Treasury Notes, receivable as money and bearing seven and three-tenths per



The Capitol
Under Construction
From a War-time
Photograph

cent. interest. This expedient was temporarily successful, but by the beginning of 1862 the expenses of the government had risen to more than a million of dollars daily.

To meet these tremendous demands other measures had to be adopted. Congress accordingly made haste to provide an internal revenue. This was made up from two general sources: First, *a tax on manufactures, incomes, and salaries*; second, *a stamp duty on all legal documents*. The next measure was the issuance by the treasury of a hundred and fifty millions of dollars in non-interest-bearing Legal Tender Notes of the United States, to be used as money. These are the notes called *Greenbacks*. The third great measure adopted by the government was the sale of United States Bonds. These were made redeemable at any time after five and under twenty years from date, and were from that fact called *Five-Twenties*. The interest upon them was fixed at six per cent., payable semi-annually in gold. Another important series of bonds, called *Ten-Forties*, was afterward issued, being redeemable by the government at any time between ten and forty years from date. In the next place, Congress passed an act providing for the establishment of National Banks. The private banks of the country had been obliged to suspend operations, and the people were greatly distressed for want of money. To meet this demand it was provided that new banks might be established, using national bonds, instead of gold and silver, as a basis of

their circulation. The currency of these banks was furnished and the redemption of the same guaranteed by the treasury of the United States. By these measures the means for prosecuting the war were provided. At the end of the conflict the national debt had reached the astounding sum of nearly three thousand millions of dollars.

On the 4th of March, 1865, President Lincoln was inaugurated for his second term. Three days after the evacuation of Richmond by Lee's army the President visited that city, conferred with the authorities, and then returned to Washington. On the evening of the 14th of April he attended Ford's theater with his wife and a party of friends. As the play drew near its close a disreputable actor, named John Wilkes Booth, stole unnoticed into the President's box, leveled a pistol at his head, and shot him through the brain. Mr. Lincoln fell forward in his seat, was borne from the building, lingered in an unconscious state until the following morning, and died. It was the greatest tragedy of modern times—the most wicked, atrocious, and diabolical murder known in American history. The assassin leaped out of the box upon the stage, brandishing a dagger and crying "Sic Semper Tyrannis," escaped into the darkness, and fled. At the same hour another murderer, named Lewis Payne Powell, burst into the bedchamber of Secretary Seward, sprang upon the couch of the sick man, stabbed him nigh unto death, and made his escape into the night. The city was wild with alarm and excitement. It was

clear that a plot had been made to assassinate the leading members of the government. Troops of cavalry and the police of Washington departed in all directions to hunt down the conspirators. On the 26th of April Booth was found concealed in a barn south of Fredericksburg. Refusing to surrender, he was shot by Sergeant Boston Corbett, and then dragged forth from the burning building to die. Powell was caught, convicted, and hanged. His fellow-conspirators, David E. Herrold and George A. Atzerott, together with Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, at whose house the plot was formed, were also condemned and executed. Michael O'Laughlin, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, and Samuel Arnold were sentenced to imprisonment for life, and Edward Spangler for a term of six years.

So ended in darkness, but not in shame, the career of Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the most remarkable men of any age or country—a man in whom the qualities of genius and common sense were strangely mingled. He was prudent, far-sighted, and resolute; thoughtful, calm, and just; patient, tender-hearted, and great. The manner of his death consecrated his memory. From city to city, in one vast funeral procession, the mourning people followed his remains to their last resting place at Springfield. From all nations rose the voice of sympathy and shame—sympathy for his death—shame for the dark crime that caused it.

CHAPTER XXII

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION, 1865-1869

ON the day after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, Andrew Johnson took the oath of office, and became President of the United States. He was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina, born in 1808. With no advantages of education, he passed his boyhood in poverty and neglect. In 1828 he removed to Tennessee and settled at Greenville. Here, through toil and hardship, he rose to distinction, and after holding minor offices was elected to Congress. As a member of the United States Senate in 1860-61, he opposed secession with all his powers, and continued to hold his seat as senator from Tennessee. On the 4th of March, 1862, he was appointed military governor of that State. This office he held until 1864, and was then nominated for the Vice-Presidency. Now, by the death of the President, he was called to assume the responsibilities of chief magistrate.

On the 1st of February, 1865, Congress adopted an amendment to the Constitution by which slavery was abolished and forbidden in all the States and Territories of the Union. By the 18th of the following December the amendment had been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-seven States, and was duly proclaimed as a part of the Constitution. The Emancipation Proclama-

tion had been issued as a military measure; now the doctrines and results of that instrument were recognized and incorporated in the fundamental law of the land.

The problem of reconstruction of the Southern States was a most serious one and the Re-

publican party came near splitting asunder over it. As early as 1863 President Lincoln had formulated a plan by which any seceding State might be restored to the Union if one-tenth of its voters of 1860 should take an oath to support the Constitution and the laws and should set up a State government. Two of the States,



A woodcut-style portrait of Andrew Johnson, showing him from the chest up, wearing a dark suit and a white shirt with a high collar. He has a serious expression and is looking slightly to the left.
Andrew Johnson
President 1865-69

Louisiana and Arkansas, did this; but Congress refused to receive them. Johnson was soon won to Lincoln's way in relation to reconstruction, that is, to permit the Southern states to resume their places in the family with as little further humiliation as possible, though in this matter he was destined to come into serious conflict with Congress.

On the 29th of May he issued the Amnesty Proclamation. By its provisions a general pardon was extended to all persons—except those specified in certain classes—who had participated in the organization and defense of the Confederacy. The condition of the pardon was that those re-

ceiving it should take an oath of allegiance to the United States. The excepted persons might also be pardoned on special application to the President. During the summer of 1865 the great armies were disbanded, and the victors and vanquished returned to their homes to resume the work of peace.

The finances of the nation were in an alarming condition. The war debt went on increasing until the beginning of 1866, and it was only by the most herculean exertions that national bankruptcy could be warded off. The yearly interest on the debt had grown to a hundred and thirty-three million dollars in gold. The expenses of the government had reached the aggregate of two hundred millions of dollars annually. But the augmented revenues of the nation proved sufficient to meet these enormous outlays, and at last the debt began to be slowly diminished. On the 5th of December, 1865, a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives pledging the faith of the United States to the full payment of the national indebtedness, both principal and interest.

During the Civil War the emperor Napoleon III. interfered in the affairs of Mexico, and succeeded, by overawing the people with a French army, in setting up an empire. In the early part of 1864 the crown of Mexico was conferred on Maximilian, the archduke of Austria, who established his government and sustained it with French and Austrian soldiers. But the Mexican president Juarez headed a revolution against the

usurping emperor; the government of the United States rebuked France for having violated the Monroe doctrine; Napoleon, becoming alarmed, withdrew his army; and Maximilian was overthrown. Flying from Mexico to Queretaro, he was there besieged and taken prisoner. On the 13th of June, 1867, he was tried by court-martial and condemned to be shot; and six days afterward the sentence was carried into execution. The scheme of Napoleon, who had hoped to profit by the Civil War and gain a foothold in the New World, was thus justly brought to shame and contempt.

After a few weeks of successful operation the first Atlantic telegraph, laid by Mr. Field in 1858, had ceased to work. The friends of the enterprise were greatly disheartened. Not so with Mr. Field, who continued both in Europe and America to advocate the claims of his measure and to plead for assistance. He made fifty voyages across the Atlantic, and finally secured sufficient capital to begin the laying of a second cable. The work began from the coast of Ireland in the summer of 1865. When the steamer *Great Eastern* had proceeded more than twelve hundred miles on her way to America, the cable parted and was lost. Mr. Field held on to his enterprise. Six millions of dollars had been spent in unsuccessful attempts, but still he persevered. In July of 1866 a third cable, two thousand miles in length, was coiled in the *Great Eastern*, and again the vessel started on her way. This time the work was completely suc-

cessful. After twelve years of unremitting effort Mr. Field received a gold medal from the Congress of his country, and the plaudits of all civilized nations.

The administration of President Johnson is noted as the time when the Territories of the United States assumed their final form. The vast domains west of the Mississippi were now reduced to proper limits and organized with a view to early admission into the Union as States. A large part of the work was accomplished during the administration of President Lincoln. In March of 1861 the Territory of Dakota, with an area of a hundred and fifty thousand square miles, was detached from Nebraska on the north, and given a distinct territorial organization. In February of 1863 Arizona, with an area of a hundred and thirteen thousand square miles, was separated from New Mexico on the west and organized as an independent Territory. On the 3d of March in the same year Idaho was organized out of portions of Dakota, Nebraska, and Washington Territories; and on the 26th of May, 1864, Montana, with an area of a hundred and forty-six thousand square miles, was cut off from the eastern part of Idaho. By this measure the area of the latter Territory was reduced to eighty-six thousand square miles. On the 1st of March, 1867, the Territory of Nebraska, reduced to its present area of seventy-six thousand square miles, was admitted into the Union as the thirty-seventh State. Finally, on the 25th of July, 1868, the Territory of Wyo-

ming, with an area of ninety-eight thousand square miles, was organized out of portions of Dakota, Idaho, and Utah.

The year 1867 was signalized by the Purchase of Alaska. Two years previously the territory had been explored by a corps of scientific men with a view of establishing telegraphic communication with Asia by way of Behring Strait. The report of the exploration showed that Alaska was by no means the worthless country it had been supposed to be. It was found that the coast fisheries were of very great value, and that the forests of white pine and yellow cedar were among the finest in the world. Negotiations for the purchase of the peninsula were at once opened, and on the 30th of March, 1867, a treaty was concluded by which, for the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars, Russia ceded Alaska to the United States. The territory thus added to the domains of the Republic embraced an area of five hundred and eighty thousand square miles, and a population of twenty-nine thousand souls.

A few months after his accession to the chief magistracy the disagreement between the President and Congress was on in full force. The difficulty grew out of the great question of reorganizing the Southern States. The particular point in dispute was as to the relation which those States had sustained to the Federal Union during the Civil War. The President held that the ordinances of secession were in their very nature null and void, and that therefore the seceded States

had never been out of the Union. The majority in Congress held that the acts of secession were illegal and unconstitutional, but that the seceded States had been by those acts actually detached from the Union, and that special legislation and special guarantees were necessary in order to restore them to their former relations under the government. Such was the real foundation of the difficulty by which the question of reconstructing the Southern States was so seriously embarrassed.

In the summer of 1865 measures of reconstruction were begun by the President in accordance with his own views. On May 29, the same day on which Johnson had issued his Amnesty Proclamation, he issued another establishing a provisional government in North Carolina. This was followed by others setting up governments for the other seceding States, except a few which had already been received into the Union under Lincoln's "ten per cent. plan." The newly installed President did not stop at this. Congress was not in session, and he proceeded with the great questions before the country single-handed, just as if there was no need of having a Congress. On the 24th of June all restrictions on trade and intercourse with the Southern States were removed by proclamation of the President. On the 7th of the following September a second amnesty proclamation was issued, by which all persons who had upheld the Confederate cause—excepting the leaders—were unconditionally pardoned. Meanwhile,

the State of Tennessee had been reorganized, and in 1866 was restored to its place in the Union. When Congress convened in December of 1866, the policy of the President was severely condemned. The difficulty between the executive and legislative departments of the government became irreconcilable. On its meeting in December, 1865, Congress ignored the work of the President and brought in its own plan of reconstructing the Southern States. After a wrangle of more than two years, within which Congress passed various important measures over the President's veto, the seceding States—except Tennessee, which was already admitted—came back into the Union in accordance with the Congressional plan. They had been obliged to ratify the Constitution, which now included the Thirteenth Amendment, forbidding slavery in the United States; and the Fourteenth Amendment, which raised the colored race to the rank of citizenship and forbade the payment of the Southern war debt.

In the mean time, a difficulty had arisen in the President's cabinet which led to his impeachment. On the 21st of February, 1868, he notified Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, of his dismissal from office. The act was regarded by Congress as a violation on the part of the President of the Tenure of Office Act, which had recently become a law. The reconstruction difficulties had already broken off all friendly relations between the two Houses and the Executive. Accordingly, on the 3d of March, articles of impeachment were agreed

to by the House of Representatives, in accordance with the forms of the Constitution, and the cause was immediately remanded to the Senate for trial. Proceedings began before that body on the 23d of March and continued until the 26th of May, when the President was acquitted. But his escape was very narrow; a two-thirds majority was required to convict, *and but one vote was wanting.* The trial was by far the most momentous in the annals of America. The eyes of the whole nation were turned intently toward the capital and even Europe took a profound interest in the great trial. The President remained at the White House, apparently little concerned. He would have been convicted and deposed from his great office but for the fact that eleven of the Republican senators voted against their party majority and in favor of the President. Had Johnson been deposed Benjamin Wade, of Ohio, president of the Senate, would have filled the great office to the end of the term. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, one of the most eminent of American statesmen and jurists, presided over this remarkable trial.

The time for holding another presidential election was already at hand. General Ulysses S. Grant was nominated by the Republicans, and Horatio Seymour, of New York, by the Democrats. The canvass was attended with great excitement. The people were still agitated by the recent strife through which the nation had passed, and the questions most discussed by the political speakers were those arising out of the Civil War. The

principles advocated by the majority in Congress furnished the basis of the Republican platform of 1868, and on that platform General Grant was elected by a very large majority. As Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was chosen.

CHAPTER XXIII

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION, 1869-1877

ULYSSES S. GRANT, eighteenth President of the United States, was a native of Ohio, born at Point Pleasant, in that State, April 27th, 1822. At the age of seventeen he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, and was graduated in 1843. He served with distinction and was promoted for gallantry in the Mexican war; but his first national reputation was won by the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson in 1862. From that time he rapidly rose in rank, and in March, 1864, received the appointment of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the Union army. His subsequent career at the head of that army has already been narrated.

The first event by which the new administration was signalized was the completion of the Pacific Railroad. This vast enterprise was projected as early as 1853; but ten years elapsed before the work of construction was actually begun. The first division of the road extended from Omaha,

Nebraska, to Ogden, Utah, a distance of a thousand and thirty-two miles. The western division, called the Central Pacific Railroad, reached from Ogden to San Francisco, a distance of eight hundred and eighty-two miles. On the 10th of May, 1869, the great work was completed with appropriate ceremonies.

Before the inauguration of President Grant two additional amendments to the Constitution had been adopted by Congress. The first of these, known as the Fourteenth Amendment, extended the right of citizenship, as we have noticed, to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and declared the validity of the public debt. This amendment was submitted in 1867, was ratified by three-fourths of the States, and in the following year became a part of the Constitution. A few weeks before the expiration of Mr. Johnson's term the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress, providing that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This clause, which was intended to confer the right of suffrage on the emancipated black men of the South, was also submitted



Ulysses S. Grant
President 1869-77

to the States, received the sanction of three-fourths of the legislatures, and on the 30th of March, 1870, was proclaimed by the President as a part of the Constitution. This amendment, however, has been far less effective than was expected by its promoters.

In the first three months of 1870 the work of reorganizing the Southern States was completed. On the 24th of January the senators and representatives of Virginia were formally readmitted to their seats in Congress, and the Old Dominion once more took her place in the Union. On the 23d of February a like action was taken in regard to Mississippi; and on the 30th of March the work was finished by the readmission of Texas, the last of the seceded States. For the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War the voice of all the States was heard in the councils of the nation.

In this year was completed the ninth census of the United States. It was a work of vast importance, and the results presented were of the most encouraging character. Notwithstanding the ravages of war, the last decade had been a period of wonderful growth and progress. During that time the population had increased from thirty-one million four hundred and forty-three thousand to thirty-eight million five hundred and eighty-seven thousand souls. The center of population had now moved westward into the great State of Ohio, and rested at a point fifty miles east of Cincinnati. The national debt, though still enormous,

was rapidly falling off. The products of the United States had grown to a vast aggregate; even the cotton crop of the South was regaining much of its former importance. American manufactures were competing with those of England in the markets of the world. The Union now embraced thirty-seven States and eleven Territories.* From the narrow limits of the thirteen original colonies, with their four hundred and twenty-one thousand square miles of territory, the national domain had spread to the vast area of three million six hundred and four thousand square miles. Few things, indeed, have been more marvelous than the territorial growth of the United States. The purchase of Louisiana more than doubled the geographical area of the nation; the several Mexican acquisitions were only second in importance; while the recent Russian cession alone was greater in extent than the original thirteen States.

In January of 1871 President Grant appointed Senator Wade, of Ohio; Professor White, of New York, and Dr. Samuel Howe, of Massachusetts, as a board of commissioners to visit Santo Domingo and report upon the desirability of annexing that island to the United States. The question of annexation had been agitated for several years, and the measure was earnestly favored by the President. After three months spent abroad, the commissioners returned and reported in favor of the proposed annexation; but the proposal was

* Including the Indian Territory and Alaska.

met with violent opposition in Congress, and defeated.

The claim of the United States against the British government for damages done to American commerce by Confederate cruisers during the Civil War still remained unsettled. These cruisers had been built and equipped in English ports and with the knowledge of the English government. Such a proceeding was in plain violation of the law of nations, even if the independence of the Confederate States had been recognized. Time and again Mr. Seward remonstrated with the British authorities, but without effect. After the war Great Britain became alarmed at her own conduct, and grew anxious for a settlement of the difficulty. On the 27th of February, 1871, a joint high commission, composed of five British and five American statesmen, assembled at Washington city. From the fact that the cruiser *Alabama* was the first built and most destructive of these cruisers, the claims of the United States were called the Alabama Claims. After much discussion, the commissioners framed a treaty, known as the Treaty of Washington, by which it was agreed that all claims of either nation against the other should be submitted to a board of arbitration to be appointed in part by friendly nations. Such a court was formed, and in the summer of 1872 convened at Geneva, Switzerland. The cause of the two nations was impartially heard, and on the 14th of September decided in favor of the United States. Great Britain was obliged, for the wrongs

which she had done, to pay into the Federal treasury fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars.

The year 1871 is noted in American history for the burning of Chicago. On the evening of the 8th of October a fire broke out in De Koven street, and was driven by a high wind into the lumber yards and wooden houses of the neighborhood. The flames leaped the South Branch of the Chicago River and spread with great rapidity through the business parts of the city. All day long the deluge of fire rolled on, crossed the main channel of the river, and swept into a blackened ruin the whole distance between the North Branch and the lake as far northward as Lincoln Park. The area burned over, was two thousand one hundred acres, or three and a third square miles. Nearly two hundred lives were lost in the conflagration, and the property destroyed amounted to about two hundred millions of dollars. No such terrible devastation had been witnessed since the burning of Moscow in 1812. In the extent of the district burned over, the Chicago fire stands first, in the amount of property destroyed second, and in the suffering occasioned third, among the great conflagrations of the world.

As the first official term of President Grant drew to a close the political parties made ready for the twenty-second presidential election. Many parts of the chief magistrate's policy had been made the subjects of criticism and controversy. The congressional plan of reconstructing the

Southern States had prevailed, and with that plan the President was in accord. But the reconstruction measures had been unfavorably received in the South. The elevation of the negro race to the full rights of citizenship was regarded with apprehension. Owing to the disorganization of civil government in the Southern States, an opportunity was given in certain districts for bad men to band themselves together in lawlessness. The military spirit was still rife in the country, and the issues of the Civil War were re-discussed, sometimes with much bitterness. On these issues the people divided in the election of 1872. The Republicans renominated General Grant for the presidency. For the vice-presidency Mr. Colfax declined a renomination, and was succeeded by Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. But there was a considerable element of the Republican party that opposed Grant's election. These disaffected members of the party banded together, called themselves the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, for the presidency and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for second place on the ticket. The Democrats, who held their convention a little later, did not choose a separate ticket, but ratified the candidates of the Liberal Republicans. Greeley had always opposed the Democratic party, but now accepted the nomination and entered upon the canvass with vigor. This was the last experience in that remarkable man's career. For more than thirty years he had been

an acknowledged leader of public opinion in America. He had discussed with vehement energy and enthusiasm almost every question in which the people of the United States had any interest. After a lifetime of untiring industry he was now, at the age of sixty-one, called to the forefront of political strife. The canvass was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciations. Mr. Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated, and died in less than a month after the election. In his death the nation lost a great philanthropist and journalism its brightest light.

A few days after the presidential election the city of Boston was visited with a conflagration only second in its ravages to that of Chicago in the previous year. On the evening of the 9th of November a fire broke out on the corner of Kingston and Summer streets, spread to the northeast, and continued with almost unabated fury until the morning of the 11th. The best portion of the city, embracing some of the finest blocks in the United States, was laid in ashes. The burnt district covered an area of sixty-five acres. Eight hundred buildings, property to the value of eighty million dollars, and fifteen lives were lost by the conflagration.

In the spring of 1872 an order had been issued to Superintendent Odeneal to remove the Modoc Indians from their lands on the southern shore of Lake Klamath, Oregon, to a new reservation. The Indians, who had been greatly mistreated by former agents of the government, refused to go;

and in the following November a body of troops was sent to force them into compliance. The Modocs resisted, kept up the war during the winter, and then retreated into an almost inaccessible volcanic region called the lava beds. Here, in the spring of 1873, the Indians were surrounded, but not subdued. On the 11th of April a conference was held between them and six members of the peace commission; but in the midst of the council the treacherous savages rose upon the kind-hearted men who sat beside them and murdered General Canby and Dr. Thomas in cold blood. Mr. Meacham, another member of the commission, was shot and stabbed, but escaped with his life. The Modocs were then besieged and bombarded in their stronghold; but it was the 1st of June before General Davis with a force of regulars could compel Captain Jack and his murderous band to surrender. The chiefs were tried by court-martial and executed in the following October.

In the early part of 1873 a difficulty arose in Louisiana which threatened the peace of the country. Owing to the existence of double election boards two sets of presidential electors had been chosen in the previous autumn. At the same time two governors—William P. Kellogg and John McEnery—were elected; and rival legislatures were also returned by the hostile boards. Two State governments were accordingly organized, and for a while the commonwealth was in a condition bordering on anarchy. The dispute was referred to the Federal government, and the Presi-

dent decided in favor of General Kellogg and his party. The rival government was accordingly disbanded; but on the 14th of September, 1874, a large party, opposed to the administration of Kellogg and led by D. B. Penn, who had been returned as lieutenant-governor with McEnery, rose in arms and took possession of the State house. Governor Kellogg fled to the custom house and appealed to the President for help. The latter immediately ordered the adherents of Penn to disperse, and a body of national troops was sent to New Orleans to enforce the proclamation. On the assembling of the legislature in the following December the difficulty broke out more violently than ever, and the soldiery was again called in to settle the dispute. In the end Kellogg was reinstated as the rightful governor.

About the beginning of President Grant's second term, the country was greatly agitated by what was known as the Crédit Mobilier Investigation in Congress. The Crédit Mobilier of America was a joint stock company organized in 1863 for the purpose of facilitating the construction of public works. In 1867 another company which had undertaken to build the Pacific Railroad purchased the charter of the Crédit Mobilier, and the capital was increased to three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Owing to the profitableness of the work in which the company was engaged, the stock rose rapidly in value and enormous dividends were paid to the shareholders. In 1872 a lawsuit in Pennsylvania devel-

oped the startling fact that much of the stock of the Crédit Mobilier *was owned by members of Congress*. A suspicion that those members had voted corruptly in the legislation affecting the Pacific Railroad at once seized the public mind and led to a congressional investigation, in the course of which many scandalous transactions were brought to light, and the faith of the people in the integrity of their servants greatly shaken.

In the autumn of 1873 occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics known in the history of the United States. The alarm was given by the failure of the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Company, of Philadelphia. Other failures followed in rapid succession. Depositors everywhere hurried to the banks and withdrew their money and securities. Business was suddenly paralyzed, and many months elapsed before confidence was sufficiently restored to enable merchants and bankers to engage in the usual transactions of trade. The primary cause of the panic was the fluctuation in the volume and value of the national currency. Out of this had arisen a wild spirit of speculation which sapped the foundations of business, destroyed financial confidence, and ended in disaster.

The decade following the war was noted for the number of public men who fell by the hand of death. In December of 1869 Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war under President Lincoln, and more recently justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, died. In 1870 General Rob-

ert E. Lee, president of Washington and Lee University; General George H. Thomas, and Admiral Farragut passed away. In 1872 William H. Seward, Professor Morse, Horace Greeley, and General Meade were all called from the scene of their earthly labors. On the 7th of May, 1873, Chief Justice Chase fell under a stroke of paralysis at the home of his daughter in New York city; and on the 11th of March in the following year, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, died at Washington. He was a native of Boston; born in 1811; liberally educated at Harvard College. At the age of thirty-five he entered the arena of public life, and in 1850 succeeded Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States. This position he retained until the time of his death, speaking much and powerfully on all the great questions that agitated the nation. On the 31st of July, 1875, ex-President Andrew Johnson, who had been recently chosen United States Senator from Tennessee, passed from among the living. On the 22d of the following November, Vice-President Henry Wilson, whose health had been gradually failing since his inauguration, sank into rest.

With the coming of 1876, the people made ready to celebrate the Centennial of American Independence. As to the *form* of the celebration, an international exposition of arts and industries was decided on; as to the *place*, the city of Philadelphia, hallowed by Revolutionary memories, was selected; as to the *time*, from the 10th of May to the 10th of November, 1876. An ap-

propriation of a million five hundred thousand dollars was made by Congress, and voluntary offerings were forwarded from every State and Territory of the Union. The city of Philadelphia opened Fairmount Park, one of the largest and most magnificent in the world, for the exposition.

Five principal buildings were projected by the Centennial Commissioners and were brought to completion about the close of 1875. The largest of these great structures, called the Main Building, was eighteen hundred and eighty feet in length, and four hundred and sixty-four feet wide, covering an area of twenty acres. The cost of the edifice was a million five hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The building second in importance was the Memorial Hall or Art Gallery, built of granite, iron, and glass, and covering an area of seventy-six thousand six hundred and fifty square feet. Machinery Hall, the third great structure, was like the Main Building in general appearance, though less beautiful and grand. The ground floor embraced an area of nearly thirteen acres. The cost of the structure was five hundred and forty-two thousand dollars. Agricultural Hall occupied a space of a little more than ten acres, and was built at a cost of nearly two hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars. The fifth and smallest of the principal buildings was Horticultural Hall, an edifice of the Moorish pattern, covering a space of one and three-fifths acres, and costing three hundred thousand dollars. The other structures of chief interest were the United States Government

Building, the Woman's Pavilion, and the Department of Public Comfort. After these came the Government buildings of foreign nations; model dwellings and bazaars; schoolhouses and restaurants; judges' halls and model factories.

On the 5th of January, 1876, the reception of articles for the Exposition was begun. A system of awards was adopted; and on the 10th of May the inaugural ceremonies were held under the direction of the Centennial Commission, President Grant making the opening address. The exhibition itself was perhaps the grandest and most interesting ever witnessed in the world up to that time. All summer long the throng of visitors—gathered from every clime—poured into the spacious and beautiful park. On the 4th of July, the Centennial of the great Declaration was appropriately celebrated throughout the country. The city of Philadelphia was crowded with two hundred and fifty thousand strangers. In Independence Square the Declaration was read from the original manuscript by Richard Henry Lee, a grandson of him by whom the resolution to be free was first offered in Congress. A *National Ode* was then recited by Bayard Taylor, and the *Centennial Oration* delivered by William M. Evarts. At night the city was illuminated, and the ceremonies concluded with a brilliant display of fireworks.

The daily attendance at Fairmount Park during the summer varied from five thousand to two hundred and seventy-five thousand persons. The grounds were open for one hundred and fifty-eight

days; the total receipts for admission were three million seven hundred and sixty-one thousand dollars; and the total number of visitors, nine million seven hundred and eighty-six thousand. On the 10th of November, the exhibition was formally closed by the President of the United States attended by General Hawley, chairman of the Centennial Commission, and Director-General Alfred T. Goshorn, of Cincinnati.

During the last year of Grant's administration, the country was disturbed by a war with the Sioux Indians. These fierce savages had, in 1861, made a treaty with the United States, agreeing to relinquish all the territory south of the Niobrara, west of the one hundred and fourth meridian, and north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude. By this treaty the Sioux were confined to a large reservation in southwestern Dakota, and upon this reservation they agreed to retire by the 1st of January, 1876. Meanwhile gold was discovered in the Black Hills—a region the greater part of which belonged, by the terms of the treaty, to the Sioux. But no treaty could keep the hungry horde of gold-diggers and adventurers from overrunning the interdicted district. This gave the Sioux a good excuse for gratifying their natural disposition by breaking over the limits of their reservation, roaming at large through Wyoming and Montana, burning houses, stealing horses, and murdering whoever opposed them.

The Government now undertook to drive the Sioux upon their reservation. A force of regulars,

under Generals Terry and Crook, was sent into the mountainous country of the upper Yellowstone, and the savages, numbering several thousand, led by their noted chieftain, Sitting Bull, were crowded back against the Big Horn Mountains and River. Generals Custer and Reno who were sent forward with the Seventh Cavalry to discover the whereabouts of the Indians, found them encamped in a village extending for three miles along the left bank of the Little Big Horn. On the 25th of June, General Custer, without waiting for re-enforcements, charged headlong with his division into the Indian town and was immediately surrounded by thousands of yelling warriors. Of the struggle that ensued, very little is known; *for General Custer and every man of his command fell in the fight.* The conflict equaled, if it did not surpass, in desperation and disaster any other Indian battle ever fought in America. The whole loss of the Seventh Cavalry was two hundred and sixty-one killed, and fifty-two wounded. General Reno, who had engaged with the savages at the lower end of the town, held his position on the bluffs of the Little Big Horn until General Gibbon arrived with re-enforcements and saved the remnant from destruction.

Other divisions of the army were soon hurried to the scene of hostilities. During the summer and autumn the Indians were beaten in several engagements, and negotiations were opened looking to the removal of the Sioux to the Indian Territory. But still a few desperate bands held out against

the Government. Besides, the civilized Nations of the Territory objected to having the fierce savages of the North for their neighbors. On the 24th of November, the Sioux were decisively defeated by the Fourth Cavalry, under Colonel McKenzie, at a pass in the Big Horn Mountains. The Indians lost severely, and their village, containing a hundred and seventy-three lodges, was entirely destroyed. The army now went into winter quarters at various points in the hostile country; but active operations were still carried on by forays and expeditions during December and January. On the 5th of the latter month, the savages were again overtaken and routed by the division of General Miles; and with the opening of spring the remaining bands, under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, were so scattered as to be able to offer no further serious resistance.

On the 1st of July, 1876, the constitution of Colorado was ratified by the people of the Territory. A month later the President issued his proclamation, and the new commonwealth took her place as the thirty-eighth member of the Union. The population of the State already numbered forty-five thousand. Until 1859, Colorado constituted a part of Kansas. In that year a convention was held at Denver, and a distinct territorial government was organized. At the close of 1875, the yield of gold in "the Centennial State" had reached the sum of seventy millions of dollars.

The excitement occasioned by the Centennial

celebration and the Sioux war was soon overshadowed by the agitation attendant upon the twenty-third Presidential election. Before the close of June, standard-bearers were selected by the two leading political parties. General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, were chosen as candidates by the Republicans; Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, by the Democrats. An Independent Greenback party appeared, and presented as candidates Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio.

The canvass began early and with great spirit. The battle cry of the Democratic party was *Reform*—reform in the public service and in all the methods of administration. The Republicans answered back with the cry of *Reform*,—averring a willingness and an anxiety to correct public abuses of whatsoever sort. To this it was added that the nationality of the United States, as against the doctrine of State sovereignty, must be upheld, and that the rights of the colored people of the South must be protected with additional safeguards. The Independent party echoed the cry of *Reform*—monetary reform first, and all other reforms afterward. For it was alleged by the leaders of this party that the measure of redeeming the national legal tenders and other obligations of the United States in gold, was a project unjust to the debtor class, and impossible of accomplishment. But the advocates of this theory did not succeed in securing a single electoral vote. The real con-

test lay between the Republicans and the Democrats. The election was held; the general result was ascertained; *and both parties claimed the victory!* The election was so evenly balanced between the two candidates, there had been so much irregularity in the electoral proceedings in the States of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and the powers of Congress over the votes of such States were so vaguely defined, that no certain declaration of the result could be made. On the face of the returns all of these three Southern States voted for Tilden, who lacked, without them, only one vote of being elected. The Republicans therefore in order to win in the contest must have all the electoral votes of these States and a disputed one in Oregon.

When Congress convened in December, the question of the disputed presidency came before that body for adjustment. The point at issue was whether the electoral votes of the several States should be opened and counted by the presiding officer of the Senate, or whether some additional court ought to be constituted to determine the result. Meanwhile the necessity of doing *something* became more and more imperative. The winter was one of intense excitement throughout the country. At times it almost seemed as if civil war was imminent. But as time passed the conservative, law-abiding common sense of the American people more and more asserted itself. The spirit of compromise gained ground; and after much debating in Congress it was agreed that all

the disputed election returns should be referred to a Joint High Commission, consisting of five members to be chosen from the United States Senate, five from the House of Representatives, and five from the Supreme Court. The commission was accordingly constituted; and on the 2d of March, *only two days before the time for the inauguration*, a final decision was rendered. It happened that in this Joint High Commission, composed of fifteen men, eight were Republicans and seven were Democrats; and when they came to decide the contest they all voted as partisans and not as an independent judiciary. As the Republicans had a majority of one it was decided to accept the Republican electors in every case. The Republican candidates were therefore declared elected. One hundred and eighty-five electoral votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler, and one hundred and eighty-four for Tilden and Hendricks. The greatest political crisis in the history of the nation passed harmlessly by without violence or bloodshed.

CHAPTER XXIV

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION, 1877-1881

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, nineteenth President of the United States, was born in Delaware, Ohio, on the 4th day of October, 1822. His ancestors were soldiers of the Revolution. His primary

education was received in the public schools. Afterward, his studies were extended to Greek and Latin at the Norwalk Academy; and in 1837



Rutherford B. Hayes
President 1877-81

he became a student at Webb's preparatory school, at Middletown, Connecticut. In the following year, he entered the Freshman class at Kenyon College and in 1842 was graduated from that institution with the highest honors of his class. Three years after his graduation, he completed his legal studies at Harvard University, and soon afterward began the practice of his profession, first at Marietta, then at Fremont,

and finally, as city solicitor, in Cincinnati. Here he won an enviable reputation as a lawyer. During the Civil War he performed much honorable service in the Union cause, rose to the rank of major-general, and in 1864, while still in the field, was elected to Congress. Three years later he was chosen governor of Ohio, was reelected in 1869, and again in 1875. At the Cincinnati convention of 1876, he had the good fortune to be nominated for the presidency over several of the most eminent men of the nation.

In his inaugural address, delivered on the 5th of March,* President Hayes indicated the policy

* The 4th of March fell on Sunday.

of his administration. The distracted South was assured of right purposes on the part of the new chief magistrate; a radical reform in the civil service was avowed as a part of his policy; and a speedy return to specie payments was recommended as the final cure for the deranged finances of the nation. The immediate effect of these assurances was to rally around the incipient administration the better part of all the parties and to introduce a new "Era of Good Feeling" as peaceable in its character as the former turbulence had been exciting and dangerous.

On the 8th of March, the President nominated his cabinet. The members, though exceptionally able and statesmanlike, were noticeably non-partisan in character. As secretary of state William M. Evarts, of New York, was chosen; John Sherman, of Ohio, was named as secretary of the treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, secretary of war; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, secretary of the navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, secretary of the interior; Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, attorney-general; and David M. Key, of Tennessee, postmaster general. These nominations were duly ratified by the Senate; and the new administration and the New Century of the republic were ushered in together.

In the summer of 1877 occurred the great labor disturbance known as the Railroad Strike. The workingmen and the capitalists of the country had for some time maintained towards each other a kind of armed neutrality hurtful alike to the in-

terests of both. In the spring of this year, the managers of the great railways leading from the seaboard to the West declared a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of their workmen. This measure was violently resisted by the employees of the companies, and the most active steps were taken to prevent its success. On the 16th of July, the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad left their posts and gathered such strength in Baltimore and at Martinsburg, West Virginia, as to prevent the running of trains and set the authorities at defiance. The militia was called out by Governor Matthews and sent to Martinsburg, but was soon dispersed by the strikers, who, for the time, remained masters of the line. The President then ordered General French to the scene with a body of regulars, and the blockade of the road was raised. On the 20th of the month, a terrible tumult occurred in Baltimore; but the troops succeeded in scattering the rioters, of whom nine were killed and many wounded.

Meanwhile the strike spread everywhere. In less than a week the trains had been stopped on all the important roads between the Hudson and the Mississippi. Travel ceased, freights perished en route, business was paralyzed. In Pittsburgh, the strikers, rioters, and dangerous classes gathering in a mob to the number of twenty thousand, obtained complete control of the city, and for two days held a reign of terror unparalleled in the history of the country. The Union Depot and all the machine shops and other railroad buildings

of the city were burned. A hundred and twenty-five locomotives, and two thousand five hundred cars laden with valuable cargoes, were destroyed amid the wildest havoc and uproar. The insurrection was finally suppressed by the regular troops and the Pennsylvania militia, but not until nearly a hundred lives had been lost and property destroyed to the value of more than three millions of dollars.

On the 25th of the month, a similar but less terrible riot occurred at Chicago. In this tumult fifteen of the insurgents were killed by the military of the city. On the next day, St. Louis was for some hours in peril of the mob. San Francisco was at the same time the scene of a dangerous outbreak, which was here directed against the Chinese immigrants and the managers of the lumber yards. Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville, Indianapolis, and Fort Wayne were for awhile in danger, but escaped without serious loss of life or property. By the close of the month, the alarming insurrection was at an end. Business and travel flowed back into their usual channels; but the sudden outbreak had given a great shock to the public mind, and revealed a hidden peril to American institutions.

In the mean time a war had broken out with the Nez Percé Indians of Idaho. This tribe of natives had been known to the Government since 1806, when the first treaty was made with them by the explorers, Lewis and Clark. Afterward, missionary stations were established among

them, and the nation remained on friendly terms until after the war with Mexico. In 1854 the authorities of the United States purchased a part of the Nez Percé territory, large reservations being made in Northwestern Idaho and North-eastern Oregon; but some of the chiefs refused to ratify the purchase and remained at large. This was the beginning of difficulties.

The war began with the usual depredations by the Indians. General Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, marched against them with a small force of regulars; but the Nez Percés, led by their noted chieftain Joseph, fled first in this direction and then in that, avoiding battle. During the greater part of the summer the pursuit continued; still the Indians could not be overtaken. In the fall they were chased through the mountains into Northern Montana, where they were confronted by other troops commanded by Colonel Miles.

The Nez Percés, thus hemmed in, were next driven across the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Musselshell, and were finally surrounded in their camp, north of the Bear Paw Mountains. Here, on the 4th of October, they were attacked by the forces of Colonel Miles. A hard battle was fought, and the Indians were completely routed. Only a few led by the chief White Bird escaped. All the rest were either killed or made prisoners. Three hundred and seventy-five of the captive Nez Percés were brought back to the American post on the Missouri. The troops of

General Howard had made forced marches through a mountainous country for a distance of *sixteen hundred miles!*—The campaign was crowned with complete success.

During the year 1877, the public mind was greatly agitated concerning the Remonetization of Silver. By the first coinage regulations of the United States, the standard unit of value was the American Silver Dollar, containing three hundred and seventy-one and one-fourth grains of pure silver. Until 1873, the quantity of pure metal in this standard unit had never been changed, though the amount of alloy contained in the dollar was several times altered. Meanwhile, in 1849, a gold dollar was added to the coinage, and from that time forth the standard unit of value existed in both metals. In the years 1873-'74, a series of acts were adopted by Congress bearing upon the standard unit of value, whereby the legal tender quality of silver was abolished, and the silver dollar omitted from the list of coins to be struck at the national mints. The general effect of these acts was to leave the gold dollar of twenty-three and twenty-two hundredths grains the single standard unit of value in the United States.

In January of 1875, the Resumption Act was passed by Congress, whereby it was declared that on the 1st of January, 1879, the Government should begin to redeem its outstanding legal tender notes *in coin*. As the time for resumption drew near, the question was raised as to the meaning of "coin" in the act for resuming specie pay-

ments; and now the attention of the people was aroused to the fact that the privilege of paying debts in silver had been taken away, and that all obligations must be discharged according to the measure of the gold dollar only. The cry *for the remonetization of silver* was heard everywhere. The question reached the Government, and early in 1878 a measure was passed for the restoration of the legal-tender quality of the old silver dollar, and providing for the compulsory coinage of that unit at a rate of not less than two millions of dollars a month. The President returned the bill with his objections, but the veto was crushed under a tremendous majority, and the old double standard of values was restored.

In the summer of 1878, several of the Gulf States were scourged with a Yellow Fever Epidemic, unparalleled in the history of the country. The disease made its appearance in New Orleans in the latter part of May, and from thence was scattered among the towns along the Mississippi. The Southern cities were nearly all in a condition to invite the presence of the scourge. The terror soon spread from town to town. Memphis and Grenada became a scene of desolation. At Vicksburg the ravages of the plague were almost equally terrible; and even in the parish towns remote from the river the horrors of the scourge were felt. The helpless populations along the lower Mississippi languished and died by thousands. A regular system of contributions was established in the Northern States, and men and treasure were

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The Capitol at Washington—The center of the greatest democratic government in the world—A building whose beauty and majesty fitly symbolize the nation it represents

poured out without stint to relieve the suffering South. After more than twenty thousand people had fallen victims to the plague, the frosts of October came and ended the pestilence.

By the Treaty of Washington, it was agreed that the right of the United States in certain sea fisheries which had hitherto belonged exclusively to Great Britain, should be acknowledged and maintained. It was conceded that the privilege of taking fish on the seacoasts and shores, and in the bays and creeks of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the islands adjacent, should be guaranteed to American fishermen, without prejudice or partiality. On the other hand, the United States agreed to relinquish the duties which had hitherto been charged on fish imported by British subjects. Several other concessions were mutually made, and in order to balance any discrepancy in the aggregate of such concessions, and to make the settlement final, it was further agreed that any total advantage to the United States might be compensated by a sum in gross to be paid by the American government to Great Britain. A Commission was provided for, and in the summer of 1877 the sittings began at Halifax. But little attention was given to the proceedings until November, when the country was startled by the announcement that *an award of five millions of dollars had been made against the American government!* The decision was received with general surprise, both in the United States and in Europe; and for awhile it seemed

probable that the arbitration might be renounced as iniquitous. It was decided, however, that the award, whether just or unjust, would better stand; and accordingly, in November, 1878, the amount was paid to the British government.

The year 1878 witnessed the establishment of a Resident Chinese Embassy at Washington. For twenty years the great treaty negotiated by Anson Burlingame had been in force between the United States and China. The commercial relations of the two countries had been vastly extended, and a knowledge of the institutions and customs of the Celestial Empire had broken down in some measure the race prejudice existing against the Mongolians. The enlightened policy of the emperor had also contributed to establish more friendly intercourse with the United States. The idea of sending resident ambassadors to the American government had been entertained for several years. The officers chosen by the imperial government as its representatives were Chen Lan Pin, minister plenipotentiary; Yung Wing, assistant envoy, and Yung Tsang Siang, secretary of legation. On the 28th of September the embassy was received by the President. The ceremonies of the occasion were among the most interesting ever witnessed in Washington, and the speech of Chen Lan Pin was equal in dignity and appropriateness to the best efforts of a European diplomatist.

The history of modern times contains many evidences of the growing estimate placed by civilized states upon the value of human life. On the 18th

of June, 1878, the Life Saving Service of the United States was established by act of Congress. The plan proposed was the establishment of regular stations and lighthouses on all the exposed parts of the Atlantic coast and along the great lakes. Each station was to be manned by a band of surfmen experienced in the dangers peculiar to the shore in times of storms, and drilled in the best methods of rescue and resuscitation. Boats of the most approved pattern were provided and equipped. A hundred appliances and inventions suggested by the wants of the service were supplied and their use taught to the brave men who were employed at the stations. The success of the enterprise has been so great as to reflect the highest credit upon its promoters. The number of lives saved through the direct agency of the service reaches to thousands annually. So carefully are the exposed coasts of the United States now guarded that it is almost impossible for a foundering ship to be driven within sight of the shore without at once beholding, through the darkness of night, the sudden glare of the red-light signal flaming up from the beach, telling the story of friends near by and rescue soon to come.

On the 1st of January, 1879, the Resumption of Specie Payments was accomplished by the United States. For more than seventeen years gold and silver coin had been at a premium over the legal tender notes of the Government. The monetary unit had been so fluctuating as to render legitimate business almost impossible. The pur-

chasing power of a dollar could hardly be predicted from one week to another. A spirit of speculation had taken possession of the market values of the country. The lawful transactions of the street, carried forward in obedience to the plain principles of political economy, suffered shipwreck. After the passage of the Resumption Act, in 1875, the debtor classes of the country entered a period of great hardship; for their indebtedness constantly augmented in a ratio beyond the possibility of payment. It was an epoch of financial ruin and bankruptcy. With the accomplishment of Resumption, however, a certain degree of confidence was restored, and the fact was hailed by many as the omen of better times.

The presidential election of 1880 was accompanied with the usual excitement attendant upon great political struggles. The elections of 1878 had generally gone against the Republican party; and it was not unreasonable to expect that in the contest for the presidency the Democratic party would prove successful. The Republican national convention was held in Chicago on the 2d and 3d of June. A platform of principles was adopted; and after the greater part of two days had been consumed in balloting, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic national convention assembled in Cincinnati on the 22d of June, and nominated for the presidency General Winfield S. Hancock, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency William

H. English, of Indiana. Meanwhile the National Greenback party held a convention in Chicago, on the 9th of June, and nominated as standard-bearers General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and General Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

The canvass had not progressed far until it became evident that the contest lay between the Republican and the Democratic parties, and that the long-standing sectional division into North and South was likely once more to decide the contest in favor of the former. The election resulted in the choice of Garfield and Arthur. Two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, embracing those of nearly all the Northern States, were cast for the Republican candidates, and one hundred and fifty-five votes, including those of every Southern State, were given to Hancock and English. The candidates of the Greenback party secured no electoral votes, though the popular vote given to Weaver and Chambers aggregated 307,000.

Soon after retiring from the presidency, General Grant, with his family and a company of personal friends, set out to make a tour of the world. Though the expedition was intended to be private it could but attract the most conspicuous attention. The departure from Philadelphia, on the 17th of May, 1877, was the beginning of a pageant which was never before extended to any citizen of any nation of the earth. Wherever the distinguished ex-President went he was welcomed with huzzas and dismissed with plaudits. The first eighteen

months of the expedition were spent in the principal cities and countries of Europe, and in January of 1879 the company embarked from Marseilles for the East. The following year was spent in visiting the great countries of Asia—India first; then Burmah and Siam; then China; and then Japan. In the fall of 1879 the party returned to San Francisco, bearing with them the highest tokens of esteem which the great nations of the Old World could bestow upon the honored representative of the New.

The census of 1880 was undertaken with more system and care than ever before in the history of the country. The work was intrusted to the general superintendency of Professor Francis A. Walker. During the decade the same astounding progress which had marked the previous history of the United States was more than ever illustrated. In every source of national power the development of the country had continued without abatement. The total population of the States and Territories of the Union now amounted to 50,155,783—an increase since 1870 of *more than a million inhabitants a year!* New York was still the leading State, having a population of 5,082,171. Nevada was least populous, showing an enumeration of but 62,266. Of the 11,597,412 added to the population since the census of 1870, 2,814,191 had been contributed by immigration, of whom about 85,000 annually came from Germany alone. The number of cities having a population of over 100,000 inhabitants had increased during the

decade from fourteen to twenty. The center of population had moved westward about fifty miles, and now rested near the city of Cincinnati.

The statistics of trade and industry were likewise of a sort to gratify patriotism, if not to excite national pride. The current of the precious metals which for many years had flowed constantly from the United States to foreign countries turned strongly, in 1880, towards America. The importation of specie during the year just mentioned amounted to \$93,034,310, while the exportation of the same during the year reached only \$17,-142,919. During the greater part of the period covered by the census abundant crops had followed in almost unbroken succession, and the overplus in the great staples peculiar to our soil and climate had gone to enrich the country, and to stimulate to an unusual degree those fundamental industries upon which national perpetuity and individual happiness are founded.

During the administration of President Hayes several eminent Americans passed from the scene of their earthly activities. On the 1st of November, 1877, the distinguished Senator, Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, after battling for many years against the deadly encroachments of paralysis, died at his home in Indianapolis. Still more universally felt was the loss of the great poet and journalist, William Cullen Bryant, who, on the 12th of June, 1878, at the advanced age of eighty-four, passed from among the living. For more than sixty years his name had been known and honored

wherever the English language is spoken. On the 19th of December, in the same year, the illustrious Bayard Taylor, who had recently been appointed American minister to the German Empire, died suddenly in the city of Berlin. His life had been exclusively devoted to literary work; and almost every department of letters, from the common tasks of journalism to the highest charms of poetry, has been adorned by his genius. On the 1st day of November, 1879, Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, one of the organizers of the Republican party, died suddenly at Chicago; and on the 24th day of February, 1881, the distinguished Matt. H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, after a lingering illness, expired at Washington. On the 24th of April, in the same year, the noted publisher and author, James T. Fields, died at his home in Boston.

CHAPTER XXV

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR, 1881-1885

JAMES A. GARFIELD, twentieth President of the United States, was born at Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, November 19th, 1831. He was left in infancy to the care of his mother and to the rude surroundings of a backwoods home. Blest with great native energy, the boy gathered

from country toil a sound constitution, and from country schools the rudiments of education. In boyhood his services were in frequent demand by the farmers of the neighborhood—for he developed unusual skill as a mechanic. Afterwards he served as a driver and pilot of a canal boat plying the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal. At the age of seventeen he attended the High School in Chester, and in the fall of 1851 he entered Hiram College. In 1854 he entered Williams College, from which, in August of 1856, he was graduated with honor. He then returned to Ohio, and was made first a professor and afterwards president of Hiram College. This position he held, meantime serving two years in the Ohio legislature, until the outbreak of the Civil War, when he left his post to enter the army.

As a soldier, Garfield rapidly rose to distinction, and while still in the field he was, in 1862, elected by the people of his district to the Lower House of Congress. In 1879 he was elected to the United States Senate, and hard upon this followed his nomination and election to the presidency. American history has furnished but few instances of a more steady and brilliant rise from the pov-



James A. Garfield
President 1881

erty of an obscure boyhood to the most distinguished elective office in the gift of mankind.

On the 4th of March, 1881, President Garfield, according to the custom, delivered his inaugural address. A retrospect of the progress of American civilization during the last quarter of a century was given, and the country was congratulated on its high rank among the nations. The policy of the executive department of the government, with respect to the great questions likely to engross the attention of the people, was set forth with clearness and precision. The public school system of the United States should be guarded with jealous care; the old wounds of the South should be healed; the National banking system should be maintained; the practice of polygamy should be repressed; Chinese immigration should be curbed by treaty; the equal rights of the enfranchised blacks should be asserted and maintained.

On the day following the inauguration the President sent to the Senate for confirmation the names of the members of his cabinet. The nominations were, for secretary of state, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for secretary of the treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for secretary of war, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; for secretary of the navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; for secretary of the interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; for attorney-general, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania; for postmaster-general, Thomas L. James, of New York. These nominations were

promptly confirmed, and the new administration entered upon its course with omens of an auspicious future.

The prospects of the new administration were soon darkened with political difficulties. A division arose in the ranks of the Republican party, threatening the disruption and ruin of that organization. The two wings of the Republicans were nicknamed the "Halfbreeds" and the "Stalwarts"; the latter, headed by Senator Conkling, of New York, being the division which had so resolutely supported General Grant for the Presidency in the Chicago Convention; the former, led by Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, and indorsed by the President himself, had control of the government, and were numerically stronger than their opponents. The Stalwarts claimed the right of dispensing a large share of the appointive offices of the Government, after the manner which prevailed for several preceding administrations; that is, the distribution of the offices in the several States, under the name of patronage, by the Senators and Representatives of those States in Congress. The President, supported by his division of the party, and in general by the reform element in politics, insisted on naming the officers in the various States according to his own wishes and what he conceived to be the fitness of things.

The chief clash between the two influences in the party occurred in respect to the offices in New York. The collectorship of customs for the port

of New York is one of the best appointive offices in the gift of the Government. To fill this position the President appointed Judge William Robertson, and the appointment was bitterly antagonized by the New York Senators, Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, who, failing to prevent the confirmation of Robertson, resigned their seats, returned to their State, and failed of a re-election. The breach thus effected in the Republican ranks was such as to threaten the dismemberment of the party.

Such was the condition of affairs at the adjournment of the Senate in June. A few days afterward the President made arrangements to visit Williams College, where his two sons were to be placed at school, and to pass a short vacation with his sick wife at the seaside. On the morning of July 2d, in company with Secretary Blaine and a few friends, he entered the Baltimore depot at Washington, preparatory to taking the train for Long Branch, New Jersey. A moment afterward he was approached by a miserable political miscreant named Charles Jules Guiteau, who from behind, and unperceived, came within a few feet of the company, drew a pistol, and fired upon the chief magistrate of the Republic. The aim of the assassin was too well taken, and the first shot struck the President centrally in the right side of the back, inflicting a dreadful wound. The bleeding chieftain was quickly borne away to the executive mansion, and the vile wretch who had committed the crime was hurried to prison.

For a week or two the hearts of the American people vibrated between hope and fear. The best surgical aid was procured, and bulletins were issued daily containing a brief outline of the President's condition. The conviction grew day by day that he would ultimately recover. Two surgical operations were performed with a view of improving his chances for life; but a series of relapses occurred, and the President gradually weakened under his sufferings. As a last hope he was, on the 6th of September, carefully conveyed from Washington City to Elberon, where he was placed in a cottage only a few yards from the surf. Here, for a brief period, hope again revived; but the symptoms were aggravated at intervals, and the patient sank day by day.

At half-past ten on the evening of September 19th, the anniversary of the battle of Chickamauga, in which President Garfield had won his chief military reputation, his vital powers suddenly gave way under the destructive influence of blood-poisoning and exhaustion, and in a few moments death closed the scene. For eighty days he had borne the pain and anguish of his situation with a fortitude and heroism rarely witnessed among men. The dark shadow of the crime which had laid him low heightened rather than eclipsed the luster and glory of his life.

On the day following this deplorable event Vice-President Arthur took the oath of office in New York, and immediately repaired to Washington. For the fourth time in the history of the American

Republic the duties of the Presidency had been devolved by death upon the man constitutionally provided for such an emergency. The hearts of the people, however, clung for a time to the dead rather than to the living President. The funeral of Garfield was observed first of all at Washington, whither the body was taken and placed in state in the rotunda of the Capitol. Here it was viewed by tens of thousands of people during the 22d and 23d of September. In his lifetime the illustrious dead had chosen, as his place of burial, Lakeview Cemetery, at Cleveland, Ohio, and thither, on the 24th of the month, the remains were conveyed by way of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. As in the case of the dead Lincoln, the funeral processions and ceremonies were a pageant, exhibiting everywhere the loyal respect and love of the American people for him who had so lately been their pride. On the 26th of September his body was laid in its final resting place. The day of the burial was observed throughout the country in great assemblies gathered from hamlet and town and city, all anxious to testify, by some appropriate word or token, their sorrow for the great national calamity.

Chester A. Arthur, called by the sad event to be President of the United States, was born in Vernon, Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. He was of Irish descent, and was educated at Union College, from which institution he was graduated in 1849. For awhile he taught school in his native State, and then came to New

York City to study law. Here he was soon admitted to the bar, and rapidly rose to distinction. During the Civil War he was Quartermaster-General of the State of New York, a very important and trying office, which he filled with great credit to himself and the Government. After 1865 he returned to the practice of law, and was appointed Collector of Customs for the port of New York in 1871. This position he held until July, 1878, when he was removed by President Hayes. Again he returned to his law practice, but was soon called by the voice of his party to be a standard-bearer in the Presidential canvass of 1880. His election to the Vice-Presidency followed, and then, by the death of President Garfield, he rose to the post of chief honor among the American people.

The assumption of the duties of his high office by President Arthur was attended with but little ceremony or formality. On the 22d of September the oath of office was again administered to him, in the Vice-President's room in the Capitol, Chief Justice Waite officiating. After this, in the presence of a few who were gathered in the apartment, he delivered a brief and appropriate address, referring in a touching manner to the death of his predecessor. Those present—including General



Chester A. Arthur
President 1881-85

Grant, ex-President Hayes, Senator Sherman, and his brother the General of the army—then paid their respects, and the ceremony was at an end.

In accordance with custom, the members of the Cabinet, as so recently constituted by President Garfield, immediately tendered their resignations. These were not at once accepted, the President, instead, inviting all the members to retain their places as his constitutional advisers. For the time all did so, except Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, who was succeeded by Judge Charles J. Folger, of New York. Mr. MacVeagh, the Attorney-General, also resigned a short time afterwards, and the President appointed as his successor Hon. Benjamin H. Brewster, of Philadelphia. The next to retire from the Garfield Cabinet were Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and Mr. James, Postmaster-General, who were succeeded in their respective offices by Hon. F. T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Hon. Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin. No disposition to make radical changes in the policy of the Government was manifested by the new administration, and the people generally, without respect to party lines, were well pleased with the spirit of him who had so suddenly been called to the chief magistracy of the Union.

It is fortunate that the pen of History is sometimes occupied with themes more worthy than the public affairs of the state. In our own day, one of the most striking features of civilization is

the rapid progress in discovery and invention. Especially is this true of the application of science to the practical affairs of life. At no other age in the history of the world has the knowledge of nature's laws been so rapidly and widely diffused. As a result of this, the means of physical comfort have been greatly increased. The new life of mankind is in a large measure based on science; and, in proportion as the laws of the natural world are discovered and applied, it is found that men become great and free and happy.

One of the best examples of the application of scientific discovery to the affairs of everyday life is that of the Telephone. It has remained for our day to discover the possibility of transmitting or reproducing the human voice at a distance of hundreds or even thousands of miles. By means of a simple contrivance, a person in one part of the country is enabled to converse with friends in another part, as if face to face. The invention of this wonderful instrument is to be credited to Professor A. Graham Bell, of Massachusetts, and Elisha P. Gray, of Chicago.

From the telegraph to the Phonograph was but a step. Both instruments are based on the same principle of science. The invention of the phonograph was made in 1877, by Thomas A. Edison, of Menlo Park, New Jersey. It is the nature of the instrument to receive and retain the wave lines and figures of sound, whether of the human voice or some other, and by an ingenious contrivance to reproduce these sounds as if they

were the original utterance. It is to be regretted that thus far the phonograph has proved to be of little or no practical utility. Nor is it certain that it will ever accomplish the great works which fancy has been pleased to predict.

Perhaps the greatest and most valuable invention of the age is the Electric Light. The project of using electricity for the purpose of illumination began to be agitated about 1870. Long before this time, however, the possibility of electric lighting had been shown by the philosopher Gramme, of Paris. About the same time, the Russian scientist Jablokoff also succeeded in converting electricity into light. It remained, however, for the great American inventor, Thomas A. Edison, to remove the difficulties in the way of electric lighting, and to make the invention practical. The systems produced by him and others have been sufficiently tested to demonstrate that the old methods of illumination must soon be displaced by the electric light.

The later years in the history of our country have been noted for the number and character of the great public works which have been projected or brought to completion within a limited period. Chief among these may be mentioned the great East River Bridge, joining New York with Brooklyn. This structure is the largest of the kind in the world, being a suspension bridge with a total length of 5,989 feet. The span from pier to pier is 1,595 feet, and the estimated capacity of resistance is 49,200 tons. The engineer under

whose direction the great bridge was constructed was Mr. John A. Roebling, who may properly be regarded as the originator of wire suspension bridges. Though he himself did not live to see the completion of the work which he had planned, the same was taken up and finished by his son, Washington A. Roebling, an architect, scarcely less noted than his father.

The administration of President Arthur proved to be uneventful. The government pursued the even tenor of its way, and the progress of the country was unchecked by calamity. In politics there was a gradual obliteration of those sharply defined issues which for a quarter of a century had divided the two great parties. Partisan animosity in some measure abated, and it was with difficulty that the managers were able to direct the people in the political contest of 1884. The issue most clearly defined was that of tariff and free trade, and even this, when much discussed, tended to break up both the existing political organizations. The usual agitation of the people, however, relative to the Presidency, began at an early date of Arthur's administration. Hardly had the crime of Garfield's murder been committed, until the question of Arthur's successor was raised by the politicians.

During the year 1883 many distinguished men were named for the presidential office. The first national convention was that of the Greenback Labor party, held at Indianapolis, in April of 1884. By this party, General Benjamin F. Butler,

of Massachusetts, and Hon. A. N. West, of Texas, were put in nomination. The Republican convention met on the 3d of June, in Chicago, and, after a session of three days, closed its labors by the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois. The Democratic convention met in the same city, on the 9th of July, and chose for its standard-bearers Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. These nominations were received with much favor by the respective parties, but strong factions in both the Republican and Democratic organizations resented the work of the conventions. The result showed that the Democratic party had drawn to its banners a majority of the American people. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected, receiving 219 ballots in the Electoral College, against 182 votes, which were cast for Blaine and Logan. New York, the pivotal State, was so close that several anxious days passed before the result was positively known.

In the last year of Arthur's administration the command of the army of the United States was transferred from General William T. Sherman to General Philip H. Sheridan. The former eminent soldier having reached the age at which, according to an act of Congress, he might retire from active service, availed himself of the provision and laid down the command which he had so long and honorably held. Nor could it be said that the new General to whom the command of the Ameri-

can army was now given was less a patriot and soldier than his illustrious predecessor.

The recurrence of the birthday of Washington, 1885, was noted for the completion of the great monument erected at the Capitol in honor of the Father of his Country. The cost of the complete structure was about \$1,500,000. The shaft of the monument, exclusive of the foundation, is 555 feet in height, being 30 feet higher than the Cathedral of Cologne, and 75 feet higher than the pyramid of Cheops. The structure is composed of more than 18,000 blocks of stone. One hundred and eighty-five memorial stones are set at different places in the monument. The dedication occurred on the 21st of February, 1885. The ceremonies were of a most imposing character. A procession of more than 6,000 persons passed from the site of the monument along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol, while salutes were fired from the batteries of the Navy-yard. The exercises were concluded in the hall of the House of Representatives, where a great throng had assembled to do honor to the memory of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his country-men."

CHAPTER XXVI

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION, 1885-1889

THE new President was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1885. Perhaps the history of the country has furnished no other example of so rapid a rise to great distinction. Grover Cleveland, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18th, 1837. With his father he removed in 1840 to Fayetteville, New York. Here the youth grew to manhood. His education was obtained in the common schools and academies of the neighborhood. In 1857 he removed to New York City, and became a student of law. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar, and four years afterwards was appointed Assistant District Attorney for Erie County. In 1869 he was elected Sheriff of the same county; and in 1881 he was chosen Mayor of Buffalo. In 1882 he was elected Governor of New York, receiving for that office a plurality of more than 190,000 votes. Before his term of office had expired, he was called by the voice of his party to be its standard-bearer in the presidential campaign of 1884, in which he was again successful.

On the day following his inauguration, President Cleveland sent to the Senate the names of those whom he had selected for places in his cabinet. The nominations were as follows: For

secretary of state, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; for secretary of the treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; for secretary of the interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; for secretary of war, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; for secretary of the navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; for postmaster-general, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; for attorney-general, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas.

The last month of Arthur's and the first of Cleveland's administration were noted for the International Cotton Exposition, at New Orleans. This, after the Centennial Exposition of 1876, was the greatest display of the kind ever held in the United States. The Exposition extended from December of 1884 to June of 1885, and was daily attended by thousands of visitors from all parts of the United States and from many foreign countries. The display was varied and full of interest. Intended in the first place to exhibit the wonderful resources of the South in her peculiar products, the exhibition was enlarged to include all branches of production and every species of mechanism and art. Among the incidental ben-



Grover Cleveland
President 1885-89, 1893-97

efits of the Exposition may be mentioned the increased intercourse and consequent friendliness of the people of the Northern and Southern States.

The first year of Cleveland's administration was uneventful. Public affairs were administered in much the same manner as before. The great question practically before the President was that of the reform of the Civil Service. In attempting this work, that is, in the endeavor to substitute a new series of rules for appointment to office, by which the persons appointed should be selected rather for their fitness than for their party services, the President was greatly hampered and embarrassed. He found that the old forces, which had so long held sway in American politics, were as active as ever, and that the institution of a reform was almost impossible under existing conditions. His appointments to office were in the meantime watched with great interest by both parties, and sharply criticised by the Republicans, as not being in accordance with the principles on which Cleveland had been elected to the Presidency. It was not desired by either party that they should be so. The Democratic office-hunters of the country were too anxious to secure the places which they had won at the polls to permit the President to act with freedom in the premises; and they of the opposite party fore-saw that, if a system of genuine reform should be instituted, the overthrow of Cleveland at the end of his term would be impossible.

The first great national event of the Cleveland

administration, that is, the first event involving the interests of American society, was that of the labor agitations, which broke out in the spring of 1886. It were difficult to make an adequate statement of the causes of these serious troubles. It was not until after the Civil War that the first symptoms appeared of a renewal in the New World of the struggle which has been long going on in Europe between Capital and Labor. It had been hoped that such a conflict would never begin in America. The first difficulties of this sort in our country appeared in the mining regions, and in the factories of the Eastern States. The agitation soon spread in the West. As early as 1867 the peculiar method of action called "striking" began among the laborers of the country. An account of the great railroad strike of 1877 has already been presented. The years following this event were seasons of unusual plenty in production, and the troubles were not renewed.

From 1883 to 1886 a series of bad crops brought on a revival of the labor troubles. Meanwhile, a speculative mania had taken possession of the American markets. Large amounts of cap-



The Statue of Liberty
by Bartholdi in
New York Harbor

ital had been turned from legitimate production to the buying and selling of margins. Stagnation ensued in business. Stocks declined in value, manufactories were closed, and the difficulty of obtaining employment was greatly enhanced. At the same time monopolies sprang up and flourished, and, coincident with this, American labor discovered the salutary but dangerous power of combination. A rage for organizing labor appeared in all departments of industry; and the arrogant form of monopoly was opposed by the insurrectionary front of the working classes.

In the meantime a large mass of ignorant foreign labor had been imported into the United States. The manufactories and workshops were filled with the worst elements from several European kingdoms. The classes thus brought in were un-American in every respect. Communistic theories of society and anarchic views of government began to clash with the more sober Republican opinions and practices of the people. To all this were added the evils and abuses incident to the wage system of labor.

When the trade season of 1886 opened, a series of strikes and labor troubles broke out in several parts of the country. It was the cities and towns which were most involved in these agitations. The first serious conflict was on what is known as the Gould System of Railways in the southwest. A single workman, belonging to the Knights of Labor, and employed on a branch of the Texas and Pacific Railway, at that time under a receiver-

ship and therefore beyond the control of Jay Gould and his subordinates, was discharged from his place. This action was resented by the Knights, and the laborers on a great part of the Gould System were ordered to strike. The movement was, for a season, successful, and the transportation of freights from St. Louis to the southwest, ceased. Gradually, however, other workmen were substituted for the striking Knights; the movement of freights was resumed, and the strike ended in comparative failure; but this end was not reached until a severe riot in East St. Louis had occasioned the sacrifice of several innocent lives.

Far more alarming was the outbreak in Chicago. In that city the socialistic and anarchic elements were sufficiently powerful to present a bold front to the authorities. Processions bearing red flags and banners, with communistic devices and mottoes, frequently paraded the streets, and were addressed by demagogues who avowed themselves the open enemies of society and the existing order. On the 4th of May, 1886, a vast crowd of this reckless material collected in a place called the Haymarket, and were about to begin the usual inflammatory proceedings, when a band of policemen, mostly officers, drew near, with the evident purpose of controlling or dispersing the meeting.

A terrible scene ensued. Dynamite bombs were thrown from the crowd and exploded among the officers, several of whom were blown to pieces,

and others shockingly mangled. The mob was, in turn, attacked by the police, and many of the insurgents were shot down. Order was presently restored in the city; several of the leading anarchists were arrested on the charge of inciting to murder, were tried, condemned, and four of them executed. Measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as had been witnessed in the Haymarket Square. On the day following the Chicago riot, a similar, though less dangerous, outbreak occurred in Milwaukee; but in this city the insurrectionary movement was suppressed without serious loss of life. The attention of the American people—let us hope to some good end—was called, as never before, to the dangerous relations existing between the upper and nether sides of our municipal populations.

The summer of 1886 is memorable on account of the great natural catastrophe known as the Charleston earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at ten minutes before ten o'clock, it was discovered at Washington city, and at several other points where weather and signal stations were established, that communications with Charleston, South Carolina, were suddenly cut off. Inquiries were sent out relative to the origin of the shock which had at that moment been felt, with varying degrees of violence, throughout nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. In a few minutes it was found that no telegraphic communication from any side could be had with

Charleston, and it was at once perceived that that city had suffered from the convulsion.

Measures were hastily devised for further investigation, and the result showed that the worst apprehensions were verified. Without a moment's warning the city had been rocked and rent to its very foundations. Hardly a building in the limits of Charleston, or in the country surrounding, had escaped serious injury, and perhaps one-half of all were in a state of semi-wreck or total ruin.

Many scientists hurried to the scene and made a careful study of the phenomena, with a view to contributing something to the knowledge of mankind. One or two points were determined with tolerable accuracy. One was, that the point of origin, called the *epicenter*, of the great convulsion, had been at a place about twenty miles from Charleston, and that the motion of the earth immediately over this center had been nearly up and down, that is, vertical. A second point tolerably well established was, that the isoseismic lines, or lines of equal disturbance, might be drawn *around* the epicenter in circles very nearly concentric, and that the circle of greatest disturbance was at some distance from the center. Still a third item of knowledge tolerably well established was that away from the epicenter—as illustrated in the ruins of Charleston—the agitation of the earth was not in the nature of a single shock, or convulsion, as a dropping or sliding of the region to one side, but rather a series of very quick and violent oscillations, by which the central

country of the disturbance was, in the course of some five minutes, settled considerably to seaward. The investigation made by the men of science did not, however, lead to the discovery of the primary *cause* of earthquakes, or of any means of protection against such catastrophes.

The whole coast in the central region of the disturbance was modified with respect to the sea, and the ocean itself was thrown into turmoil for leagues from the shore. The people in the city were in a state of the utmost consternation. They fled from their falling houses to the public squares and parks, and far into the country. Afraid to return into the ruins, they threw up tents and light booths for protection, and abode for weeks away from their homes. The convulsion was by far the greatest that this continent had experienced within the historical epoch. Nothing before in the limits of our knowledge has been at all comparable with it in extent and violence, except the great earthquake of New Madrid, in 1811.

The disaster to Charleston served to bring out some of the better qualities of our civilization. Personal assistance and contributions from all quarters poured in for the support and encouragement of the afflicted people. For several weeks a series of diminishing shocks continued to terrify the citizens and paralyze the efforts at restoration. But it was discovered in the course of time that these shocks were only the dying away of the great convulsion, and that they gave cause for hope of entire cessation rather than continued

alarm. In the course of a few months the *débris* was cleared away, business was resumed, and the people were again safe in their homes.

On the 4th of March, 1887, the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress expired. The work of the body had not been so fruitful of results as had been desired and anticipated by the friends of the government; but some important legislation had been effected. On the question of the tariff nothing of value was accomplished. A measure of Revenue Reform had been brought forward at an early date in the session, but, owing to the opposition of that wing of the Democratic party headed by Hon. Samuel J. Randall, and committed to the doctrine of protection, as well as to the antagonism of the Republican majority in the Senate, the act failed of adoption. By the beginning of 1887, it became apparent that no legislation looking to any actual reform in the current revenue system of the United States, could be carried through Congress.

On the question of extending the pension list, however, the case was different. A great majority of both parties favored such measures as looked to the increase of benefits to the soldiers. At the first, only a limited number of pensions had been granted, and these only to actually disabled or injured veterans of the War for the Union. With the lapse of time it became more and more important to each of the parties to secure and hold the soldier vote, without which it was felt that neither could maintain ascendancy in the govern-

ment. A genuine patriotic sentiment and gratitude of the Nation to its defenders coincided in this respect with political ambition. The Arrears of Pensions Act, making up to those who were already recipients of pensions such amounts as would have accrued if the benefit had dated from the time of disability, instead of from the time of granting the pension, was passed in 1879; and at the same time the list of pensioners was greatly enlarged.

The measure presented in the Fiftieth Congress was designed to extend the pension list so as to include all regularly enlisted and honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War who had become in whole or in part *dependent upon the aid of others* for their maintenance. The measure was known as the Dependent Pensions Bill. Many opposed the enactment of a law which appeared to give the bounty of the government to the deserving and the undeserving alike, and to compel the worthy recipients of pensions to rank themselves with those who had gone into the army for pay, and had been brought to want through improvidence. A majority was easily obtained for the measure in both Houses of Congress, and the act was passed. President Cleveland, however, interposed his veto; the effort in the House of Representatives to pass the measure over his opposition, failed, and the proposed law fell to the ground.

One of the most important laws of this administration was the Presidential Succession law of

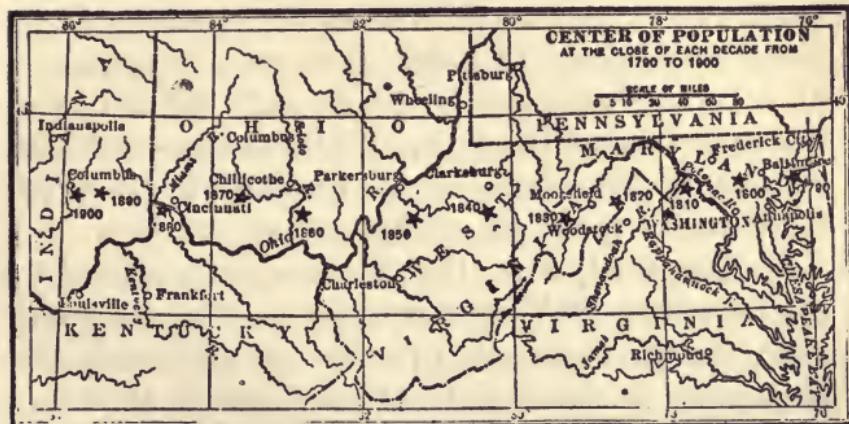
1886. The Constitution makes no provision for filling the presidential office in case of death or disability of both President and Vice-President. A law had therefore been passed placing the president of the Senate and next the Speaker of the House in line of succession. This law was quite unsatisfactory. It might throw the government into the hands of the party that had been defeated at the polls by the people; or in case neither the Senate nor the House had chosen presiding officers there might be a lapse in the office of the President. This defect was corrected by the law of 1886, by which the line of succession runs through the Cabinet, beginning with the secretary of state. Any member of the Cabinet to be in line must be eligible to the presidency.

Another important law of the session was the act known as the Inter-State Commerce Bill. For some fifteen years complaints against the methods and management of the railways of the United States had been heard on many sides, and in cases not a few the complaints had originated in actual abuses, some of which were willful, but most were merely incidental to the development of a system so vast, and, on the whole, so beneficial to the public. In such a state of affairs the lasting benefit is always forgotten in the accidental hurt. A large class of people became clamorous that Congress should take the railways by the throat, and compel them to accept a system of uniformity as respected all charges for service rendered.

The Inter-State Commerce Bill was accordingly prepared, with a multitude of clauses requiring a Commission of lawyers for their interpretation. It was enacted that all freight carriage across State lines within the Union should be at the same rate per hundred for all distances, and between all places, and under substantially the same conditions; and that passenger fares should be uniform for all persons. In the very nature of things railways are unable to carry freight at as small a rate per hundred, or passengers at as small a charge per mile, between places *approximate* as between places *at great distances*. In some regions it is many times more expensive to build and operate a railroad than in others. To carry one of these great thoroughfares over the Rocky Mountains is a very different thing from stretching a similar track across the level prairies of Illinois. In the nature of the case, competition will do its legitimate work at an earlier date, and more thoroughly, between great cities than between unimportant points, however near together. But these natural conditions were overlooked in the bill, and it became a law. It is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress has been so difficult of application.

This period was noted for a revival of Interest in the Civil War. The memory of that conflict has been preserved in a series of authoritative publications, by some of the leading participants. This work, so important to the right understanding of the great struggle for and against the

Union, was undertaken by General William T. Sherman, who, in 1875, published his *Memoirs*, narrating the story of that part of the war in which he had been a leader. This had been preceded by the history of the *War Between the States*, by Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy. In 1884 General Grant began the publication of a series of war articles in the *Century Magazine*, which attracted univer-



sal attention, and which led to the preparation and publication of his *Memoirs*, in 1885-'86. Similar contributions have more recently been published by Generals George B. McClellan, John A. Logan, and Philip H. Sheridan. Other eminent commanders of the Union and Confederate armies have recorded their personal recollections of the conflict in which they bore a part, in an able and impartial literature of the war.

This revival, after a lapse of a quarter of a century, of patriotic memories, became an element

in the political history of Cleveland's administration. There was a persistent effort by one of the political parties to use the war spirit for its own advantage; and the President, by some of his acts, gave opportunity for such advantage to be taken of his policy. The sessions of Congress, from 1885 to 1888, were noted for the excessive number of private pension bills which were passed. Many of these were doubtless devoid of merit. The President, in the exercise of his prerogative, vetoed such bills as he thought ill-advised, or against the public interest. In a number of his veto messages he made such references to the character of the bills, and to the unworthiness of the applications, as to furnish occasion for much bitter comment on his course.

It happened, also, that a measure prepared by the Secretary of War was approved by the President, for the restoration to the various States, and ultimately to the regiments from which they had been taken, of the Battle Flags of the Civil War. The most of such trophies had been captured from the Confederate armies. The President, without looking carefully into the matter, gave his assent to the order for the return of the flags in possession of the government; but presently revoked the order, allowing the old trophies to remain in keeping of the War Department, as before. The proposed measure, however, created much excitement in some parts of the country, and gave the opponents of the administration a second advantage on the score of the alleged unpatriotic

course of the President. Several minor incidents were added of the same character, the whole constituting a body of charges used with much effect throughout the Northern States in the ensuing Presidential election.

Still another circumstance relating to the Rebellion belongs to this period of our country's history; namely, the death, within a limited period, of nearly all the great leaders in the Civil War. It was as though a whole generation of military captains and great civilians had been swept away. It can not be doubted that the hardships and intense excitements to which the participants were subjected, during the four years' conflict, had impaired the vitality of nearly all who were seriously engaged in the war.

In the spring of 1885 it became known that General Ulysses S. Grant was stricken with a fatal malady. The announcement at once drew to the General and ex-President the interest and sympathies of the whole American people. The hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox sank under the ravages of a malignant cancer, which had fixed itself in his throat. On the 23d of July, 1885, he expired at a summer cottage on Mount McGregor, New York. His last days were hallowed by the love of the nation which he had so gloriously defended. No funeral west of the Atlantic—not even that of Lincoln—was more universally observed. The procession in New York City was perhaps as imposing a pageant as was ever exhibited in honor of the dead, with the possible ex-

ception of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, in London. On the 8th of August, the body of General Grant was laid to rest in Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson. There, on the summit from which may be seen the great river and the metropolis of the nation, is the tomb of him whose courage and magnanimity in war will forever give him rank with the few master spirits who have honored the human race, and changed the course of history.

Within less than three months from the funeral of Grant, another distinguished Union General

fell. On the 29th of October, General George B. McClellan, at one time commander of the Army of the Potomac and General-in-Chief, subsequently Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and at a later period Governor of New Jersey, died at his home, at St. Cloud, in that State. His conspicuous part during the first two years of the



Grant's Tomb in New
York City

Civil War, his abilities as a soldier and as a citizen, and his unblemished character as a man, combined to heighten the estimate of his life, both public and private. After another brief interval, a third great military leader fell, in the person of General Winfield S. Hancock, Senior Major-

General of the American Army. During the war he had won for himself the title of "Hero of Gettysburg." Afterwards, in 1880, he was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency against General Garfield. In the meantime, within a brief period, Generals Irwin McDowell, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and George G. Meade, each of whom, in a critical period of the war, had commanded the Army of the Potomac, passed away. Before the close of 1886 Major-General John A. Logan, greatest of the volunteer commanders, who, without previous military education, won for themselves distinguished honors in the War for the Union, fell sick and died at his home, called Calumet Place, in Washington City. At the outbreak of the war he had resigned his seat in Congress, joined the first advance of the Union Army, and fought in the battle of Bull Run. Subsequently, he had risen to the place of United States Senator from Illinois, and in 1884 was the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

In the meantime, several distinguished civilians had passed away—men who, like the military heroes, had borne a great part in public affairs at the epoch of the Civil War. On the 25th of November, 1885, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, after what was supposed to be a trifling illness of a single day, died suddenly, at his home in Indianapolis. His life had been one of singular purity, and the amenities of his character were conspicuous in the stormy arena of American

politics. His death was soon followed by that of Horatio Seymour, of New York. On the 12th of February, 1886, this distinguished citizen, who had been Governor of the Empire State, and a candidate for the Presidency against General Grant, died at his home in Utica. Still more distinguished in reputation and ability was Samuel J. Tilden, also of New York, who died at his home, called Greystone, at Yonkers, near New York City, on the 4th of August, 1886. Mr. Tilden had made a great impression on the political thought of the epoch. He had acquired within his own party an influence and ascendancy far greater than that of any other statesman of his times. His intellectual force could not be doubted, nor could it be claimed that he failed to apply his faculties assiduously to the greatest political questions of the age. He was essentially a public man, and in his last days prepared a famous paper on the *Coast and Harbor Defenses of the United States*, which led to a wide discussion of the question and to the legislation of the Forty-ninth Congress on that important subject.

To this list of deaths must be added the illustrious name of Henry Ward Beecher, to whom, with little reservation, must be assigned the first place among our orators and philanthropists. Nor is it likely that his equal in most of the sublime qualities of manhood will soon be seen again on the great stage of life. His personality was so large and striking as to constitute the man a class by himself. He had the happy fortune to retain

his faculties unimpaired to the close of his career. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1887, at his home in Brooklyn, he sank down under a stroke of apoplexy. He was nearing the close of his seventy-fourth year. He lived until the morning of the 8th, and quietly entered the shadows. He was followed to the grave by the common eulogium of mankind, and every circumstance of his passing away showed that he had occupied the supreme place among men of his class in America.

On the 18th of April, 1888, at the Hoffman House, New York City, Roscoe Conkling, ex-Senator of the United States, died after a brief and painful illness. A local inflammation, brought on by exposure to the most violent snowstorm with which New York had been visited within the memory of man, extended to his brain and caused his death. He had reached the age of fifty-nine years. Few men in America have led a more stormy career. During six years of service in the House of Representatives, and afterwards in the Senate of the United States, he sought and won leadership by constant battle, contention, and antagonism. Twice was he re-elected Senator of the United States. In 1880, he led the forces of General Grant in the Chicago Convention. After the accession of Garfield to the Presidency, he broke with the administration, and suddenly resigned from the Senate, living thenceforth the life of a private citizen, in New York city. For many years he was the rival of Mr. Blaine in the leadership of the Republican party. His talents

rose to the region of genius; and his presence was an inspiration to his friends and a terror to his enemies.

On the 23d of March, 1888, Morrison R. Waite, Chief Justice of the United States, died at his home in Washington city. The event justifies a few paragraphs relative to the history of the great tribunal over which Judge Waite presided during the last fourteen years of his life.

In the formation of the Constitution of the United States, it was intended that the three general departments of the Government should be *of equal rank and influence*. The importance of our great national Court, in determining the final validity of all legislation, can hardly be overestimated. The Supreme Bench is the only immovable breakwater against the unscrupulous spirit of party. It is fortunate that the offices of our Chief Justices, and of the associate Justiceships, are appointive, and are thus removed from the passion of partisan elections. It may be of interest to glance at some of the vicissitudes through which the Supreme Court has passed since its organization, in 1789.

The court was first instituted by the appointment of John Jay as Chief Justice, who held the office until 1794, when he gave place first to John Rutledge, who was not confirmed, and, in 1796, to Oliver Ellsworth. The latter presided over the court until, in 1800, the infirmities of age compelled his resignation. Then came the long and

honorable ascendency of Chief Justice John Marshall, who held the office from his appointment, in 1801, to his death, in 1835. This was the Golden Age of the Supreme Court. From 1835 to 1837 there was a vacancy in the chief justiceship, occasioned by the disagreement of President Jackson and the Senate of the United States; but at the latter date the President secured the confirmation of Judge Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice, who entered upon his long term of twenty-seven years. It was his celebrated decision in the case of the negro, Dred Scott, relative to the status of the slave race in America, that aided in applying the torch and lighting the flames of the Civil War.

At the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1864, President Lincoln appointed as his successor Salmon P. Chase, recently Secretary of the Treasury, and author of most of the great financial measures and expedients by which the national credit had been preserved during the Rebellion. His official term extended to his death, in 1873, and covered the period when the important issues arising from the Civil War were under adjudication. To Chief Justice Chase fell, also, by virtue of his office, the duty of presiding at the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. In 1874 the appointment of Morrison R. Waite as Chief Justice was made by President Grant; and the death of this able jurist devolved on President Cleveland and the Senate the duty of naming his successor. Judge Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, was ap-

pointed, and confirmed on the 30th of April, 1888.

During the whole of Cleveland's administration the public mind was swayed and excited by the movements of politics. The universality of partisan newspapers, the combination in their columns of all the news of the world, with the invectives, misrepresentations, and countercharges of party leaders, kept political questions constantly uppermost to the detriment of social progress and industrial interests. Scarcely had President Cleveland entered upon his office as chief magistrate when the question of the succession to the Presidency was agitated. The echoes of the election of 1884 had not died away before the rising murmur of that of 1888 was heard.

By the last year of the administration it was seen that there would be no general break-up of the existing parties. It was also perceived that the issues between them must be *made*, rather than found in the existing state of affairs. The sentiment in the United States in favor of the constitutional prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors had become somewhat extended and intensified since the last quadrennial election. But the discerning eye might perceive that the real issue was between the Republican and Democratic parties, and that the questions involved were to be rather those of the past than of the future.

One issue, however, presented itself which had a living and practical relation to affairs, and that

was the question of the tariff on foreign imports. Since the campaign of 1884, the agitation had been gradually extended. At the opening of the session, in 1887, the President, in his annual message to Congress, departed from all precedent, and devoted the whole document to the discussion of the single question of a *Reform of the Revenue System* of the United States. The existing rates of duty on imported articles of commerce had so greatly augmented the income of the Government that a large surplus had accumulated, and was still accumulating, in the treasury of the United States. This fact was made the basis of the President's argument in favor of a new system of revenue, or at least an ample reduction in the tariff rates under the old. It was immediately charged by the Republicans that the project in question meant the substitution of the system of Free Trade in the United States as against the system of protective duties. The question thus involved was made the bottom issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888.

As to the nominees of the various parties, it was from the first a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cleveland would be nominated for re-election by the Democrats. The result justified the expectation. The Democratic National Convention was held in St. Louis, on the 5th day of June, 1888, and Mr. Cleveland was renominated by acclamation. For the Vice-Presidential nomination there was a considerable contest; but, after some balloting, the choice

fell on ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, on the 19th day of June. Many candidates were ardently pressed upon the body, and the contest was long and spirited. It was believed, up to the time of the convention, that Mr. Blaine, who was evidently the favorite of a great majority, would be again nominated for the Presidency. But the antagonisms which that statesman had awakened in his own party made it imprudent to bring him forward again as the nominee. His name was accordingly not presented to the convention. The most prominent candidates were Senator John Sherman, of Ohio; Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; ex-Governor Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. The voting was continued to the eighth ballot, when the choice fell upon Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. In the evening, Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the first ballot.

In the meantime, the Prohibition party had held its National Convention at Indianapolis, and on the 30th of May had nominated for the Presidency, General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and for the Vice-Presidency, John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system of the United States, and reaffirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports with strict regard to the

actual needs of governmental expenditure. The Republican platform declared also for a reform of the tariff schedule, but at the same time stoutly affirmed the maintenance of the protective system as such, as a part of the permanent policy of the United States. Both parties deferred to the patriotic sentiment of the country in favor of the soldiers, their rights and interests, and both endeavored, by the usual incidental circumstances of the hour, to gain the advantage of the other before the American people. The Prohibitionists entered the campaign on the distinct proposition that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States, by constitutional amendment. To this was added a clause in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women.

As the canvass progressed during the summer and autumn of 1888, it became evident that the result was in doubt. The contest was exceedingly close. As in 1880 and 1884, the critical States were New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. In all of the other Northern States the Republicans were almost certain to win, while the Democrats were equally certain of success in all the South. In the last weeks of the campaign, General Harrison grew in favor, and his party gained perceptibly to the close. The result showed success for the Republican candidate. He received 233 electoral votes, against 168 votes for Mr. Cleveland. The latter, however, appeared to a better advantage on the popular count, having

a considerable plurality over General Harrison. General Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly three hundred thousand votes; but under the system of voting, no electoral vote of any State was obtained for him in the so-called "College," by which the actual choice is made. As soon as the result was known, the excitement attendant upon the campaign subsided, and political questions gave place to other interests.

The last days of Cleveland's administration and of the Fiftieth Congress were signalized by the admission into the Union of four new States, making the number forty-two. Since the incoming of Colorado, in 1876, no State had been added to the republic. Meanwhile the tremendous tides of population had continued to flow to the west and northwest, rapidly filling up the great Territories. Of these the greatest was Dakota, with its area of 150,932 square miles. In 1887 the question of dividing the Territory by a line running east and west was agitated, and the measure finally prevailed. Steps were taken by the people of both sections for admission into the Union. Montana, with her 145,776 square miles of territory, had meanwhile acquired a sufficient population; and Washington Territory, with its area of 69,994 square miles, also knocked for admission. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed raising all of these four Territories—South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington—to the plane of Statehood. The act contemplated the adoption of State constitu-

tions, and a proclamation of admission by the next President. It thus happened that the honor of bringing in this great addition to the States of the Union was divided between the outgoing and incoming administrations.

Another act of Congress was also of national importance. Hitherto the government had been administered through seven departments, at the head of each of which was placed a Cabinet officer, the seven together constituting the advisers of the President. No provision for such an arrangement exists in the Constitution of the United States; but the statutes of the nation provide for such a system as most in accordance with the republican form of government. Early in 1889, a measure was brought forward in Congress and adopted, for the institution of a new department, to be called the Department of Agriculture. Practically the measure involved the elevation of what had previously been an Agricultural Bureau in the Department of the Interior, to the rank of a Cabinet office. Among foreign nations France has been conspicuous for the patronage which the Government has given to the agricultural pursuits of that country. Hitherto in the United States, though agriculture has been the greatest of all the producing interests of the people, it had been neglected for more political and less useful departments of American life and enterprise. By this act of Congress, the Cabinet officers were increased in number to eight instead of seven.

CHAPTER XXVII

HARRISON AND CLEVELAND

BENJAMIN HARRISON, twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833, and was the son of John Scott Harrison, a prominent citizen of his native State; grandson of President William Henry Harrison; great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence. In countries where attention is paid to honorable lineage, the circumstances of General Harrison's descent would be considered of much importance; but in America little attention is paid to one's ancestry, and more to himself.

Harrison's early life was passed, as that of other American boys, in attendance at school, and at home duties on the farm. He was a student at the institution called Farmers' College, for two years. Afterwards, he attended Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, and was graduated therefrom in June, 1852. He took in marriage the daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, President of the university. After a course of study, he entered the profession of law, removing to Indianapolis, and establishing himself in that city. With the outbreak of the war, he became a soldier of the Union, and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Before the close of the

war, he was elected Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

In the period following the Civil War, General Harrison rose to distinction as a civilian. In 1876, he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Republican party for Governor of Indiana. In 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he won the reputation of a leader and statesman. In 1884, his name was prominently mentioned in connection with the Presidential nomination of his party, but Mr. Blaine was successful. After the lapse of four years, however, it was found at Chicago that General Harrison, more than any other, combined in himself all the elements of a successful candidate; and the event justified the choice of the party in making him the standard-bearer in the ensuing campaign.

General Harrison was, in accordance with the usages of the Government, inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1889. He had succeeded better than any of his predecessors in keeping his own counsels during the interim between his election and the inauguration. No one had discerned his purposes, and all waited with interest the expressions of his inaugural address. In that docu-



Benjamin Harrison
President 1889-93

ment he set forth the policy which he should favor as the chief executive, recommending the same general measures which the Republican party had advocated during the campaign.

On the day following the inaugural ceremonies, President Harrison sent in the nominations for his Cabinet officers, as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; for Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; for Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; for Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller, of Indiana; and for Secretary of Agriculture—the new department—Jeremiah Rusk, of Wisconsin. These appointments were immediately confirmed by the Senate, and the members of the new administration assumed their respective official duties.

The Harrison administration was marked by the admission of six new States—North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming. The Census of 1890 had shown the population of the country to be over sixty-two and a half millions. The McKinley tariff bill, a highly protective measure, became a law in 1890. The bill was formulated by William McKinley, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the lower House, in which branch of Congress he had served several terms.

Several other important measures were enacted into law within this same year. One was the Dependent Pension law, very similar to the one that President Cleveland had vetoed. By this law all Union soldiers and sailors were entitled to draw pensions from the government if from any cause they were unable to earn a living, and the benefits were extended to their widows, children, and dependent parents.

Another noted law of this year was the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to protect trade and commerce from monopolies and unlawful restraint. It is a curious fact that after this law had lain unused for many years, it began to be enforced, and some of the great court decisions of the present time are based on it. Three or four additional laws of more or less importance date from this year of 1890. Among them are the Sherman Silver Law, the Original Package Law, and the Anti-Lottery Law, excluding lottery tickets and circulars from the mails of the United States.

Three international questions of more or less gravity arose during this administration. One was a dispute, which threatened war for a time, between the United States and Germany, over the Samoan Islands, which lie between our western coast and Australia. War vessels of the two countries were menacing each other in Samoan waters when nature's interference, in the form of a destructive typhoon, dismantled and ruined the ships of both countries, which served to bring to an end all warlike proclivities. The difficulties

were settled by arbitration, Germany conceding the demands of the United States.

The "Chilean Affair," a state of bad feeling, brought to a crisis by an altercation between some



In the Sugar Cane Fields

American sailors and native ruffians and policemen, almost precipitated the two governments into a state of war, which was averted by a complete and humble apology on the part of Chili and indemnity to injured American sailors. The last big matter of the Harrison administration related to the Hawaiian Islands, and the issue reached into three administrations, covering the period from 1893 to 1900. The little

monarchy of the Pacific Isles had for many years been under the dominant rule of a constitutional succession of native kings. The islands were rich and beautiful, but many of the inhabitants were white descendants from American and English stock. In January, 1893, the Queen, Liliuokalani, was deposed by an organized revolution, and a provisional government was set up, with Sanford P. Dole as President. A treaty of annexation was sent to Washington and met with general approval. President Harrison sent the treaty to

the Senate, intending to indorse the favorable action of that body. Just before final action was taken President Cleveland came into office and immediately withdrew the treaty from the Senate and peremptorily estopped further action pending an investigation. In 1898, after the termination of Cleveland's administration, these islands were formally annexed and made a territory of the United States.

In 1892 Grover Cleveland was nominated for the presidency for the third time, after being once elected and once defeated, a record in American politics peculiar to Cleveland alone. Adlai E. Stevenson was named for Vice-President. The opposition ticket was Harrison and Whitelaw Reid. The Democrats carried the election by a large majority. By a great portion of his followers Cleveland was looked upon with great favor, almost as an idol. He was endowed with a strong personality, and during his former administration had evinced qualities of remarkable strength and power as a statesman. So-called "practical politics" had no place in his public life, but he gave his extraordinary ability to the service of the whole country freely, courageously, and conscientiously. The main issue in this campaign was the McKinley tariff, though the silver question was looming up in the political horizon soon to be grappled with. The tariff, however, with the consequent industrial unrest and disturbances, was the chief issue.

The beginning of the second Cleveland admin-

istration was menaced with a panic, which broke during the year 1893 like a tidal wave over the whole country. It was charged by the party in power chiefly to two causes, the McKinley tariff and the Sherman Silver act. Believing the quickest relief would come by the repeal of this vicious Silver law, which required the government to purchase four and a half millions of silver per month, to be paid for in gold, Cleveland called an extra session of Congress in August, 1893. The gold reserve had dropped below a hundred million, the accepted safety point, and the condition was alarming. It was believed that the repeal of this law would relieve the Treasury and the general condition of the country. It was November before the joint action of the Senate and House could be secured, but the panic ere this had the financial and industrial interests of the nation in its viselike grip and it was years before the country recovered. Business of all classes suffered incalculable loss. Mercantile houses, banks, and credit concerns went crashing down to ruin in all parts of the country. In the West drouth and crop failure intensified the distress, and railroads furnished free transportation for trainloads of supplies sent from sympathizing citizens of the East to their suffering brethren of the West.

The most important legislation during this administration in addition to the repeal of the Silver act was the Gorman-Wilson tariff bill, which was so unsatisfactory to President Cleveland that he

allowed it to become a law without his signature. This act reduced the McKinley tariff considerably, but in no sense was it a free trade measure.

Outside of political and legislative matters American history records for the year 1893 a most remarkable industrial enterprise, the Columbian Exposition, or World's Fair, held in Chicago, commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. This event may have since been rivaled, if not surpassed, but up to that time this stupendous undertaking had not been approached. Constructed at a total cost of nearly forty million dollars, this magical "White City" grown in a night, with its magnificent halls and parks and lagoons, its streets and lawns and gardens, presented a scene of grandeur and beauty beyond the poet's most extravagant imagination of the celestial city. The results of the highest human attainments in art and science and invention, the industries and manufactures from every part of the globe, were gathered here and exhibited before the astonished gaze of the millions of visitors from every nation of the world. The greatness of the United States, as well as of Chicago, was a revelation to our foreign visitors.

In the spring of 1894 during a serious industrial disturbance in the Pullman car works at Chicago, President Cleveland took it upon himself to send Federal troops into the State of Illinois to quell the riots and protect the United States mails. This action was bitterly resented by Governor John P. Altgeld, and was severely criticised in

other circles for a time, but the wisdom and celerity of action in dealing with this crisis by President Cleveland have been generally commended as one of his strong acts in dealing with important national affairs.

For many years the United States and Great Britain had enjoyed peaceful relations in their international dealings, but occurrences arose, now and then, which clearly indicated that the English nation had not yet taken the proper measurement of the United States in her estimate of nations. It fell to Cleveland to put the British right on the matter for all time. In 1893 the Behring Sea dispute, which had been of several years' standing was finally settled by arbitration. Another dispute had arisen concerning Venezuela, which for a time seriously threatened war between the kindred nations. Venezuela had repeatedly requested the British to agree to arbitration in fixing the boundary line with British Guiana, but without avail. The United States expressed its approval of that method of settlement. In 1895 the Secretary of State, Olney, made a demand upon the Premier of Great Britain, Lord Salisbury, that the Government of the United States, in conformity with the Monroe Doctrine, must insist upon arbitrating the matter in dispute. Salisbury haughtily refused to comply or to recognize the Monroe Doctrine. President Cleveland now did one of the things in his public life which mark him as a statesman of great courage and character, and which alone would give him a place in history.

He at once sent a message to Congress proposing to investigate the matter independently, and, if it were disclosed that Venezuela had just grounds, to espouse her cause. This meant war with England, unless she receded from the stand taken by Salisbury. This is exactly what she did; the matter was satisfactorily arranged and the Monroe Doctrine vindicated. For a few days excitement ran high and the feeling was intense. Party prejudices were entirely forgotten and there was unanimity of sentiment in support of the dignified and firm stand taken by the President.

Cleveland was a man of sound judgment, of high principles, and strong convictions, but he was unhappy in his method of dealing with his political associates, and unfortunate in the chain of circumstances which fell upon the closing period of his last administration. Added to other things charged against him, it became necessary to make a bond issue of sixty-three million dollars, the necessity for which had become apparent before Cleveland assumed office. His second inauguration had been like the triumph of a national hero, but circumstances seemed to conspire to cast a shadow over his remarkable career. Upon relinquishing public office he retired to private life, making his home at Princeton, New Jersey, where he lived in happiness with his family for more than a decade, respected, honored, and loved by all who knew him.

The country was now to pass through the agitation of another presidential election. For nearly

forty years, excepting the two terms of Cleveland, the affairs of the country had been in the hands of the Republican party. It represented almost half a century of national growth, and marvelous progress in wealth and population in the various States of the Union. The Western States had heretofore been given but slight attention in national elections, but now, like a young giant, the West had risen in its strength and must be reckoned with.

In the campaign of 1896 new issues arose other than the tariff, the old bone of contention, and chief among these was the money question. It was obvious that a large faction would favor free silver, and that the party so declaring itself in national convention would receive this important vote. When the Republicans held their convention at St. Louis in June, 1896, they adopted the gold standard as a part of the party platform, and nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, the author of the McKinley tariff bill, as their candidate, and Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, for Vice-President.

The Democrats met at Chicago in July, and after a stormy session, the silver faction from the West and South captured the convention and nominated William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewell, of Maine, for second place. The paramount issue was declared to be the free coinage of silver on a parity with gold at a ratio of sixteen to one. Bryan was a surprise to his party and to the nation. His dramatic nom-

ination was the result of his masterful eloquence. In a noted speech he won the convention with his opening words and held the vast audience to the close. Pandemonium then reigned in that great throng of twenty thousand excited, shouting, screaming men. They had found their leader.

The action of the Democrats brought to their support the silver factions of other parties. There was a considerable secession from the Republican party, headed by such able men as Senators Stuart, of Nevada, and Teller, of Colorado. The new Populist party, which had absorbed the People's party, unanimously flocked to Bryan. The conservative Democrats put into the field as an independent candidate, John M. Palmer, of Illinois, on the gold platform, the design being to draw the vote away from Bryan and elect McKinley. The brilliancy of Mr. Bryan, which had been conspicuously recognized in Congress, his magnetic personality, and his matchless oratory were alarming to his foes. He entered into a campaign unique in the country's experience, visiting all important points throughout the land, being heard by millions. He was a man of faultless life, modest and charming in manner, clean and respectful in all his campaign utterances, though he was often misrepresented in the opposition press. Mr. McKinley conducted his campaign at his home in Canton, Ohio, delivering many addresses to delegations which came from all parts of the country. McKinley was a most estimable gentleman of the old school, of kindly disposition,

high moral character, and large ability. Both of these distinguished men were of pronounced religious convictions. It was a clean and dignified and honest campaign on the part of the candidates,

and entirely free from mudslinging and personalities. There was doubt as to the outcome, and great apprehension on the part of many who believed that victory for the Democrats would mean ruin for the country. All the force that could be brought to bear upon the employees of some large industrial interests was used to carry



William McKinley
President 1897-1901

the election against free silver. The results showed McKinley to be elected by 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176. McKinley received a majority of 600,000 of the popular vote out of a total of thirteen and a half million.

After the election apprehensions were allayed and business affairs began to assume a more normal condition. The panic, which had been intensified during the campaign by the mysteries of "High Finance," began to wane, and the following year crops were good and the country was fast approaching a normal condition. For the next decade nature conspired with man to enrich the nation. The marvelous gold fields of the Klondike were discovered, the fertile fields poured out their

bounty, prices were high during most years, and the localities blasted by panic and famine were rehabilitated, doubling their population, and also the value of lands.

It had been necessary to make a bond issue at the close of Cleveland's administration to strengthen the depleted treasury. McKinley upon assuming office recognized the necessity of action to relieve the situation, and immediately called a special meeting of Congress to provide needed revenue. This meant a new tariff law. The result was the Dingley Tariff bill, which became effective in July, 1897, and was undisturbed for over ten years. Like the McKinley bill, it was a highly protective measure.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

THE spring of 1898 held new and thrilling interests for the United States outside of politics. Cuba, the largest of the isles of the West Indies, across the Gulf from Florida, a possession of Spain since the days of Cortez, was gasping and struggling for life under the mailed fist of its Castilian master. From 1868 to 1898 the Cubans were in a state of chaotic revolt. Again and again the spirit of human freedom, which cannot be killed, would rise up and cry for liberty for the

oppressed people of Cuba. In 1895 the insurrection assumed such proportions as to become a veritable war. The insurgents were well organized and unconquerable. In 1897, early in the McKinley administration, the agitation of the Cuban question became so intense as to attract general attention in the United States. The Cuban insurgents numbered some capable and efficient men. They sought recognition by the United States government as belligerents, and persisted until they succeeded in getting a resolution to that effect passed by the Senate. The many Americans in Cuba with large investments, and the general sympathy of liberty-loving Americans for the oppressed natives of the neighbor island, had settled almost into a conviction that the United States Government would be forced to interfere in Cuban affairs.

The inhumanity of General Weyler, successor to General Campos, sent to operate against the insurgents, brought the situation to a crisis. Campos had dealt with the insurgents on a basis of civilization, but Weyler adopted new and revolting methods and dealt with them in a spirit of brutality and barbarism. He placed the whole island under martial law, and the people were herded like animals within the Spanish lines, and perished by the thousands, from pestilence, starvation, and unsanitary surroundings. The policy with Weyler apparently was extermination since subjugation had been impossible. The final issue between the United States and Spain came in 1898, and was

at bottom due to the activity of the filibuster party in Cuba and the States, the object of their agitation being to bring about a declaration of war between the two countries. In the abstract it would appear that this was a serious and grievous offense, but when it is remembered that the inhabitants



Wreck of the Battleship *Maine*

of this little island were fighting for their very life, and were in the last ditch, who could blame them for striving to get their big, friendly neighbor into the fight? And so it worked out. They schemed to get an American battleship into a Cuban port. In January, 1898, the *Maine* was sent on a "friendly" visit to Havana harbor. On February 15th, between nine and ten o'clock, the

ship was blown up from an unknown cause, and 264 enlisted men of the navy and two officers lost their lives. The report of the catastrophe reached Washington about midnight. When the astounding news flashed over the country the excitement and indignation swept from ocean to ocean like the thrill of an earthquake. Captain Charles D. Sigsbee, commander of the *Maine*, wired that public opinion should be suspended until further report, and while this advice was regarded, there was a general feeling that the treachery of Spain had been the cause of the disaster. President McKinley, supported by most of the press, manifested remarkable steadiness and poise under the strain. A naval court of inquiry was appointed to investigate the cause of the explosion, headed by Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson, then captain. The sum of the report was that the *Maine* had been destroyed from without, probably by a submarine mine. The report concluded without fixing the responsibility. Spain also appointed an investigation committee and its report was the reverse of the American report, stating that the cause of the explosion was from within.

The people of the United States quite generally believed Spain guilty and were stung to such a frenzy by a real or fancied outrage that war was now inevitable.

April the 11th the President sent a special message to Congress in which he asked to be empowered to use the military and naval forces of the United States to secure a full and final termination

of hostilities between the Government of Spain and Cuba.

Congress responded on the 19th with a joint resolution authorizing the President to use the army and navy in carrying out a demand that Spain relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba and withdraw her forces from its territory, embodying in the resolution the intention that the government of the Cuban people should be left to themselves.

On the 21st Spain dismissed United States Minister Woodruff, breaking off diplomatic relations, which was practically a declaration of war. President McKinley at once ordered the Cuban ports blockaded, and issued a call for 125,000 volunteers. The financial end of the question was quickly and easily settled. Congress voted fifty million dollars war fund. Stamp taxes were laid which were expected to produce a hundred millions a year, and a popular three per cent. bond issue was authorized for two hundred million dollars. The country was not prepared for war, was not on a war footing, but in spite of this fact, soon there was a force of two hundred thousand men in the field, under arms, eager for action.

The naval forces were more quickly aligned for efficient service. In two weeks there were eighty-eight effective fighting vessels under orders, and fifty-one new warships were ordered built by Congress.

The first stroke of the war was most startling and dramatic. While the land forces were being

mobilized mostly at Chickamauga, Camp Alger, and Camp Thomas, at Jacksonville, the public eye was on the navy, the alert ear was listening for the detonations of the big guns on the warships, which had never yet been tried except in target practice. It was unknown just what would happen in real action or how the amateur American gunners would acquit themselves. The nations of the world looked on with mingled curiosity and interest. The mighty throng of the world's amphitheater had not long to wait. Ten days after the opening of hostilities, the reverberations of one of the most remarkable naval battles in history were heard around the world. Commodore George Washington Dewey had led the Asiatic Squadron of the United States Navy, consisting

of six ships, into Manila harbor and utterly crushed the Spanish fleet of fourteen ships, under Admiral Montojo.



Admiral Dewey

Dewey was anchored at Hong Kong with his fleet, and had received orders from Washington to strike the Spanish navy wherever found. He had received notice to leave

Hong Kong in accordance with the international law governing neutral waters, and on the 24th of April headed his fleet across the China Sea toward the Philippine Archipelago. At Mirs Bay on the

China coast a stop was made, where the ships were stripped for action, and the forces informed as to the orders received and the plans to be carried out.

The Philippines are a numerous group of islands in the eastern Pacific, which had been a possession of Spain for over four hundred years, numbering between seven and eight million inhabitants, and to Spanish avarice had yielded vast treasure, like Cuba, and other isles of the West Indies, and like them had bitterly suffered under Spanish oppression.

Manila is the capital of the Philippines, and its bay is one of the largest and deepest in the world, with an area of a hundred and twenty-five square miles. Its entrance was protected by the towering rocky islands, Corregidor and Caballos, the former strongly fortified with searchlights and powerful batteries of modern artillery. Beneath the deep waters were deadly mines, electrically adjusted so that the touch of the keel of a warship would close the circuit of destruction. Dewey determined to run this gauntlet of possible death, the perils, the uncertainties, the issue of which could not be foreseen. At eleven o'clock at night, April 30th, the American fleet—the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Boston*, *Concord*, and the *Petrel*, the dispatch boat *McCullough*, and colliers *Zafiro* and *Nashua*, led by Dewey's flagship, the *Olympia*, filed through Boca Grande, the channel on the south of Corregidor, into Manila Bay. On each side were deadly batteries. Ahead on the great,

rock El Fraile lay concealed artillery. Dewey said to his men, "We are to seek the Spaniard and smash him as soon as we find him." He had located him in Manila harbor. It was a highway of unknown dangers and possible death, but coolly, silently, lights out, in the dim shadow of a waning moon, the fleet passed leisurely along the channel. For eighteen hours every man had been at his post holding sleepless vigil as in active battle. It seemed that the fleet would slip by the sentry on Corregidor unchallenged, but escaping sparks from one of the ship's funnels gave the alarm, and with scream and crash thundered the mighty guns from the fortifications of Corregidor and El Fraile. From several of Dewey's ships the fire was returned. The batteries were silenced and the squadron moved on unharmed into Manila Bay. Out of danger, the ship's crews stood at rest, slowly creeping up the harbor, awaiting the fateful morning.

The Spaniards felt secure within the safe confines of Manila Harbor, and had not the remotest idea that the American fleet would have the audacity to enter the bay. When it became known that they had passed the forts the incredible news caused amazement, and the wildest excitement spread over the city of Manila and among the ships' crews. The Spanish fleet consisted of fourteen ships. Admiral Montojo, on his flagship, *Reina Cristina*, with the largest tonnage and the best armament in the fleet, formed his ships in battle line, under cover of the fortresses at Manila

and Cavité. The fire opened upon the American fleet at 5.15, simultaneously from Cavité, Manila (five batteries), and Montojo's fleet, but without effect. Steadily moving forward under the fire for nearly half an hour, the men stood at their guns, stripped to the waist, waiting for the word to fire. Captain Gridley was in the conning tower, and at the signal from Dewey on the bridge, "You may fire when ready, Gridley," the Olympia was no longer a phantom ship, but a mighty engine of destruction.

Fire and tons of iron and steel projectiles and shells leaped forth like demons of death from the six American warships. Sweeping by the enemy in a circular maneuver, five times, and each time nearer and more deadly than before, the squadron countermarched, leaving ruin and death in its wake. At 7.35 the American fleet steamed beyond the range of the enemy, and in the reports from the various vessels, to the amazement of all, it was discovered that not a man had been killed nor a ship disabled.

The Spanish fleet had been practically destroyed. After a hearty breakfast had been served to the valiant sailors, the squadron again advanced against the enemy, and the remnant of Montojo's fleet was sunk or scuttled and fired, excepting one transport, which was captured. The arsenal at Cavité was blown up and the battery destroyed. Thus at a stroke in a few hours Spain had lost her fleet, 1,600 men killed and wounded, with no loss in men or ships to the American

squadron, which was now master of the Philippine Archipelago.

The effect of this extraordinary victory upon the American nation and the world was momentous and far-reaching. Amazement and admiration were expressed by all nations. Enthusiasm and unbounded joy thrilled every American heart. No heroes were ever accorded greater honor and glory than the heroes of Manila Bay. Dewey's name was on every lip and he was classed with Farragut, Porter, and Nelson. He was immediately appointed rear-admiral, and the following year upon his return to the United States he was given an ovation, and the same year he was made admiral.

The efficiency of the American navy and the superiority of American sailors would never again be questioned. The United States was instantly recognized as a world power. The effect upon Spain of this stunning defeat at one blow was most humiliating and depressing. She had not planned for defeat; riots occurred and the Government was taunted with the charge of incapacity and decadence. The Government blustered, placed a censor on the press, and made ostensible preparations for more aggressive action.

The scene was changed—while Dewey with his invincible fleet was making history in the Orient, a theater for other and equally dramatic events was preparing on Cuban soil ten thousand miles away. The American army under General William R. Shafter, with 10,000 men, was investing the

city of Santiago, Cuba, the stronghold of the Spanish land forces, commanded by General Toral.

Admiral William J. Sampson, with the American fleet in Cuban waters, instituted a close blockade of Santiago Harbor on June 1st. The remainder of the Spanish navy was a fleet of six vessels, commanded by Admiral Cervera. After a long search over the ocean Cervera's fleet had been located in Santiago harbor. It was the plan of Sampson and Commodore Schley thus to keep Cervera "bottled up" at Santiago. So the two fleets of ironclads, like sea monsters, lay inactive on the blue waters in sleepless vigilance, awaiting the next move.

Three grand assaults were made on Santiago by the land forces under General Shafter. The fighting began on June 24th. The Spaniards were strongly intrenched. On the 29th by desperate fighting, the Americans had reached the vicinity of the peaks in front of Santiago, a mile or so from the city, but not until June the 3d had they succeeded in the capture of El Caney and San Juan, sustaining a loss of 1,641 in killed and wounded. It was apparent that Santiago must fall. Old men, women, and children, numbering 20,000, poured out of the city for forty-eight hours, through the American lines into the woods in the rear.

Cervera, aware of the coming doom of the city, was now put to extremities to escape with his fleet. There had been spectacular events, bril-

liancy, and notable bravery at San Juan Hill and El Caney, in the siege of the city, but the land fighting was prosaic and commonplace in comparison with the romantic glory of the sea fight when the Spanish fleet steamed out of Santiago harbor.

Early in the dawning of the morning of July the 3d, Cervera made a dash with his entire fleet from the harbor for the open sea. Commodore Schley was the officer in charge of the American ships on guard, Rear-Admiral Sampson, with his flagship, the *New York*, being seven miles away, and Schley's order to close in on the runaway fleet was obeyed with wonderful celerity and terrible effect.

It was a most courageous thing, admired and wondered at by the Americans, when Cervera with his flagship *Maria Teresa*, led his fleet under a full head of steam, pushing under the very muzzles of the mighty guns on the American men-of-war. Futile was his daring; vain his last hope. Though the Spanish guns vomited forth a torrent of fire upon the foe obstructing the path, though the engines increased their speed to the fullest power, destiny had marked Cervera's fleet for a fate like Montojo's. Spanish skill and courage could not cope with this new race in the land of Columbia.

It was soon ended. It was the story of Manila Bay over again. When the smoke cleared away there were no Spanish ships to be seen afloat. Spain had no navy; her ships were destroyed, her

sailors were dead or captured. The last vessel taken, the *Cristobal Colon*, was beached forty miles away from the entrance to the harbor, where she had been run down by the *Brooklyn*. The Spanish losses in men were several hundred killed or drowned and 1,300, including Admiral Cervera, captured. The American loss was one killed and one wounded, without injury to the fleet. The American methods of fighting were startling to the nations looking on, as well as to the enemy. In war as in trade, with Americans, results were the object, without waste in maneuvers or formalities.

Santiago promptly surrendered, which practically ended the war, and Cuba was under the guardian hand of the United States.

Startling as were the prosecution and speedy termination of the war to Spain, and other nations, it was expected and planned for by the United States, and scarcely disturbed the normal business conditions of the country. The actual war lasted only about ninety days, but its effect upon many nations of the world was more important and far-reaching than any war since the Revolution.

It remained only to arrange a peace treaty, and on August the 12th the peace protocol was signed, the final treaty being made the following October at Paris. By the terms of agreement Cuba was to be free, Porto Rico was ceded to the United States, and Spain was to receive twenty million dollars for the Philippine Islands. In January,

1899, the long-suffering Cubans saw their fondest hopes fulfilled by the complete evacuation of Spanish troops from Cuban soil. To aid the enfeebled country in the formation of a government for self-rule, the United States temporarily set up a military government which was maintained until 1902, when a president (Palma) was elected as chief magistrate of the new republic, the United States reserving protectorate rights. Thus majestically, gloriously, and voluntarily America demonstrated to the world her unselfishness and magnanimity in the war with Spain as declared in the beginning. Millions of money, including three millions to reimburse Cuban soldiers in fighting for their own liberty, was spent by the American Government, and the talent of the ablest men in the nation given to aid this infant republic to stand alone and free among the nations of the world.

The Philippine Islands, with a population of over seven and a half millions, of which nearly one million were uncivilized tribes, now became a ward of the United States. The outcome of the war had thus laid upon the nation responsibilities and problems, constitutional and moral, not dreamed of a few months before. The military and civil history of the United States in relation to the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago, partially barbaric, is a story of its own. It was a matter of coincidence that this people came into the hands of the American Republic, but the government could not shirk or ignore so patent a

duty as the obvious sponsorship of these islands. There soon arose an insurrection in the islands against the United States, a demand being made for independence, the natives claiming the right to govern themselves. Thirty thousand armed natives were led by Aguinaldo, a brilliant and educated young Filipino, who had assisted the Americans in the capture of Manila. It developed into a long drawn out guerrilla warfare, and not until sixty-five thousand American soldiers had been sent to quell the uprising, and the capture of the daring young leader, was the insurrection put down. It had cost many lives and many millions of money, but the people of the islands were absolutely incapable of self-rule.



Philippine Warrior

President McKinley, fully conscious of the grave responsibility resting upon the nation and upon himself as its chief executive, appointed a commission in January, 1899, to visit the islands to obtain reliable data on which to base the policy of future action. No definite results were derived from the work of this commission, which was headed by President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University. In 1900 another commission was appointed, with Judge William H. Taft, of Ohio, as chairman, who later became Governor of the islands, and efficiently and ably established a stable

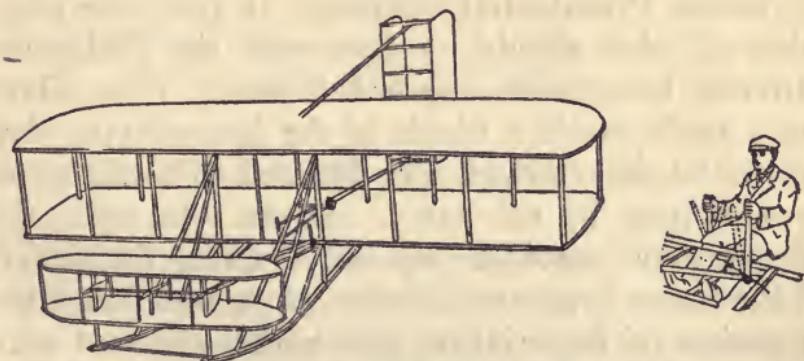
form of government, securing for them the modern school system and civil and religious liberty. For a decade the Philippines have been in peace and prosperous under the form of government adopted by the United States.

The war between the United States and Spain, though not a great war in the accepted sense, marked an era in the cycle of events, and opened a new chapter in the history of nations. The ignorance of the masses in other countries relative to the United States had been amazing, but with the war came great enlightenment.

The effect on the United States was to produce a complacent feeling of justifiable pride and serene self-confidence which makes men and nations strong. Commercially the United States took on new life after the war. Impelled into swifter strides of commercial and social progress with a momentum and a speed that were amazing and bewildering beyond the dreams of seers and prophets, the twentieth century in the United States was like a millennial dawn. With material prosperity, educational and religious fervor found expression in the temples of religion and learning side by side with the industrial and mechanical institutions of the commercial world. Coincident with the awakened activity throughout the country, crops were abundant and agricultural products commanded unusually high prices at home and abroad. This was due to two causes; one was that the foreign market had been greatly expanded, materially and permanently increasing the

demand for American foodstuffs, and the other cause, contributing permanently to higher prices, was the fact that free land in the United States was practically exhausted. Here was a combination of circumstances creating a problem of the not far distant future, that of feeding the people. The time had passed in the United States when there would be no market for agricultural products.

About this time there was also a harvest in the



The Wright Biplane

world of invention as well as in the golden fields. The new and marvelous mode of transportation by the automobile was being perfected, and came into general use, and manufacturing plants worth millions of dollars were established in all parts of the country.

The Wright brothers of Dayton, Ohio, perfected the aëroplane or flying machine, and astonished the world with its practicability, and the problem of aerial navigation, till then unsolved,

has been answered, and aëroplanes are coming rapidly into use all over the world, though, it must be added, they have thus far proved little else than a plaything.

The most wonderful practical invention of the period was the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy. The inventor was an Italian and through his wonderful invention ships have been saved at sea, messages sent to tourists in mid-ocean, and newspapers published on Transatlantic liners at full speed across the waters.

In the Presidential campaign of 1900 the question of what should be done with the Philippine Islands became an important issue. Free silver was again made a plank in the Democratic platform, but imperialism was declared to be the paramount issue by the party. Bryan was again the Democratic candidate against William McKinley. There was a great diversity of opinion, and the question of imperialism was widely debated *viva voce* and through the press by the ablest thinkers among scholars and statesmen in the country. This division of opinion gave new zest and hope to the insurrectos then in revolt. The election again gave McKinley the majority of the electoral vote over Bryan, this time almost two to one.

This decided the future policy toward the Philippines, and the leader of the insurrection, Aguinaldo, being captured in the early spring of 1901, the islands soon became tractable under the able and tactful administration of Governor Taft. The methods adopted by the McKinley administration

in dealing with those foreign possessions have proved wise and successful, and, with little exception, without local disturbances or dissatisfaction.

For a time our relations with Porto Rico caused considerable agitation in Congress, but President McKinley's recommendation of civil government and free trade, though opposed by the sugar trust, was finally made law, and Porto Rico, like the Hawaiian Islands, became a Territory of the United States.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

WHEN McKinley for the second time entered upon the duties of the high office to which he had been chosen, it was with a consciousness of new and grave responsibilities. Firmly and manfully he had declared his policies and purposes as his duty appeared, and his second term promised the conclusion of a notable and useful public career.

Prosperity and unparalleled activity ruled supreme. The nation which had selected William McKinley as its chief ruler was on the pinnacle of its glory. The balance of trade in favor of the United States had reached the stupendous figure of \$664,900,000. The fires under the political caldron had burned out, and harmony

reigned from North to South and East to West. While, for McKinley, Destiny seemed to point to only the propitious, it held for him, deeply veiled, the tragedy, the tears, and the sorrows of his beloved nation.

Twice before had the nation been called into the house of mourning for its chief by the hand of an assassin. The gentle McKinley, with no known foes, and no fears, was the third victim of the dastardly weapon of death, this time in the hand of one of a licensed class who are a menace to the government.

In the spring of 1900 the President had made an extensive tour of the country and his reception had been most cordial and enthusiastic in all sections. During the summer, under the direction of that great statesman, John Hay, Secretary of State, the United States, conjointly with other nations, had put down the serious "Boxer" uprising in China.

During the summer of 1901 a fair of great splendor and completeness was held at Buffalo, N. Y., by the nations of the Western Continent, called the Pan-American Exposition. The 5th of September was designated "President's Day," and President McKinley was formally invited to be the guest of the day. On this occasion he delivered a noteworthy address, which proved to be his last to the American people.

The next day, September 6th, it was arranged that he hold an informal reception when he might greet and shake hands with the general public,

which was greatly appreciated by the visiting throngs, affording an opportunity for many to meet the President who had not had this pleasure. Long lines of people had formed to pass the platform on which McKinley stood, and a hundred or so had passed and heard his kind words of greeting, when a youthful man approached, with his right hand apparently bandaged with a handkerchief. Sympathetically the President took the stranger's extended left hand with a kindly smile, when two shots rang out almost at once, and the President for a moment stood dazed, then fell into gentle arms. Both shots had hit their mark. The President's first words were solicitude for his wife, and next that the assassin be not hurt. The name of the murderer was Leon Czolgosz, a pupil of Emma Goldman, the noted anarchist. He was quickly seized, but with difficulty saved from fatal violence. The news at first quelled the great throng into strange silence, then arose the hoarse death scream of the mob, but the confusion was quelled and the prisoner gotten safely to the jail and into a cell.

The wounded President was hastily removed to the Exposition Hospital and there operated on, and later taken to the Milburn residence, where he lingered, while the nation wept and prayed and hoped for eight days. The wound had been fatal, and there was no hope from the first, and President McKinley died on the 14th day of September.

A profound and overwhelming wave of sorrow

and grief passed over the whole country. The body of the dead President lay in state at Buffalo and at the Capitol at Washington, whence it was taken to Canton and laid to final rest.

McKinley's final biographers will write him down as a man of high moral character, without remarkable initiative, a shrewd judge of human nature, like Lincoln, able to read public sentiment and cautious not to antagonize it. It was his policy to follow public sentiment rather than to form it. He was never hasty in forming his opinions, but deliberate in arriving at conclusions, giving time for fanaticism to wane and fallacies to disappear. McKinley was of the safe and sane type of statesman, but lacking in those great qualities necessary to stand alone when great crises arise. He would scarcely be listed in the class who achieve greatness, but possibly with those who have greatness thrust upon them.

When Theodore Roosevelt, who had been elected Vice-President over Adlai E. Stevenson, took the oath of office as President of the United States, there was considerable apprehension, until he announced his purpose to retain the McKinley Cabinet and to continue the McKinley policies in the administration of national affairs. President Roosevelt was by nature impulsive, self-assertive, aggressive. He was also the youngest man ever in the office, being only forty-three.

His subsequent term of seven and a half years in the presidency proved to be the most strenuous of any President in the history of the country

save that of Andrew Jackson. Roosevelt, while a Republican in party affiliations, was very progressive and democratic in his views, and his position was inevitably to be that of a party reformer rather than a party leader. His innate impetuosity, his didactic method of expression, and conspicuous egotism could not fail to produce clashes and misunderstandings with leaders of his party. Chief among these powerful antagonists was Senator Hanna, of Ohio, who would probably have been a troublesome rival for the presidency in the next convention but for his removal by death, in February, 1904.

Soon after the election of 1896 corporate capital began to assume new and larger proportions in the industrial world. Combinations were formed and capital was centralized into what were called trusts. These conditions were growing and after the Republican victory of 1900 the prophecy of Bryan relative to the menacing power of corporate wealth was rapidly being fulfilled. Trusts were springing up on every hand. The prosperity of the country had apparently fostered an unscrupulous spirit of greed and graft, furthered by hirelings in legislative lobbies and city halls, that became the shame of the country. The big "interests," which like a boa con-



Theodore Roosevelt
President 1901-08

stricter were swallowing small competitors on right and left, were beginning to cause alarm.

The railroads, which were in fact part of the trusts, by discrimination in rates decapitated small concerns at will. This ultimately led to the Railroad Bill, one of the most important pieces of legislation of the times. During these few, but remarkable years' growth, the fecundity of the soil was so great as to produce in addition to the pioneer Oil Trust, the Beef Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Steel Trust, and others, representing hundreds of millions of capital in the hands and under the control of a few individuals.

The clash of the State and Federal laws made the question of the regulation or limitation of these powerful combinations one of great complexity and difficulty. Here was a battlefield with real giants worthy the steel of the most ambitious and aggressive. To the credit of President Roosevelt be it said, though he ridiculed Bryan, when he saw the storm gathering in fulfilment of Bryan's predictions and warnings, he met the issue squarely and forcefully, and his public utterances and activities were unceasing from 1902 to the close of his second term in 1909.

The first noteworthy act of President Roosevelt was in 1902 when he interfered where a more cautious man would not have ventured. An extensive coal strike in the anthracite mining regions of Pennsylvania had thrown 150,000 miners out of work and produced a coal famine, which was causing widespread suffering. The Presi-

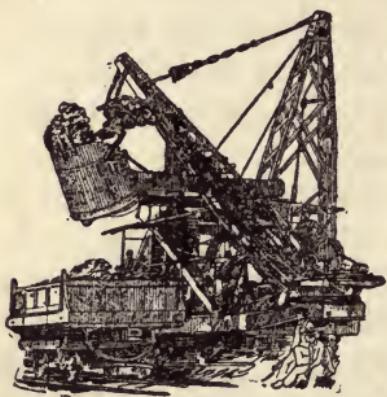
dent gratuitously and unofficially called the officials of union labor and the mine owners into a conference at Washington, where, diplomatically, they were led to sign an agreement, calling off the strike for two years. Great distress was temporarily averted and matters were so adjusted in two years that no resumption of the strike occurred. The President had done "A very big thing, and an entirely new thing," was the comment of the *London Times*.

In January, 1902, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress with recommendations looking toward the construction of an Isthmian canal, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, shortening the waterway between New York and San Francisco by eighty-five hundred miles, and from the eastern coast to Australia by four thousand miles. For fifty years this project had been under consideration by various nations, and as early as 1850 a treaty (Clayton-Bulwer) had been made by the United States and Great Britain relative to its accomplishment. Later in France a company was organized, and large amounts of money put into a proposed similar enterprise, but it ended in failure. The action of Congress in response to the President's message authorized the purchase of the French interest for forty million dollars, appropriating a hundred and seventy million dollars for the construction of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

A tedious delay was experienced in concluding a treaty with Colombia, and the inhabitants of

Panama seceded from Colombia, setting up an independent republic, and within three or four days the United States recognized the independence of Panama, and all difficulties relative to beginning work on the canal were settled. The haste of

the United States in recognizing the new republic had no precedent in international dealings, and the President was the subject of much censorious criticism, but the great nations of Europe were equally interested with the United States in the canal project, and the public at home and



At Work on the
Panama Canal

abroad soon forgot this lapse of presidential conventionalism. The treaty entered into by the United States with Panama secured for the new republic its independence and granted to the Panama government a bonus of ten million dollars.

The canal belt is ten miles wide, which territory is under the government of the United States. The length is about fifty miles and the depth is to be 40 feet, with a width of 280 feet at the top and 200 feet at the bottom. Activities preparatory to beginning the "digging" were started in the early spring of 1904. A year was consumed in the work of sanitation and organization. The canal will be neutral waters, available for the ves-

sels of all nations, can never be blockaded, and the time of occupancy to belligerents limited to twenty-four hours. The total expense to the United States when completed will exceed three hundred million dollars. The enterprise is the biggest undertaking of modern times and will materially affect the commercial and shipping interests of the world.

The year 1903 was the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. The following year this historic act of Thomas Jefferson was commemorated on a most magnificent scale at St. Louis, Missouri. The St. Louis world's fair of 1904 was not a novelty after such as had been held at Chicago a decade before, and the Pan-American at Buffalo three years previous, but the magnitude of the enterprise had never been equaled. The area of the grounds was twelve hundred and forty acres, double that at Chicago, and the expense of the fair was fully ten millions greater than at Chicago.

With new features added commensurate with human progress, here was concentrated a representation of the advancement of the races—in the arts, science, and invention, and in fact everything pertaining to human industry and attainment—from nearly every part of the earth. It was an aggregation too vast for the mind to grasp.

The fair opened in the early spring and was closed in November, and was visited by about twenty million people. In addition to the gen-

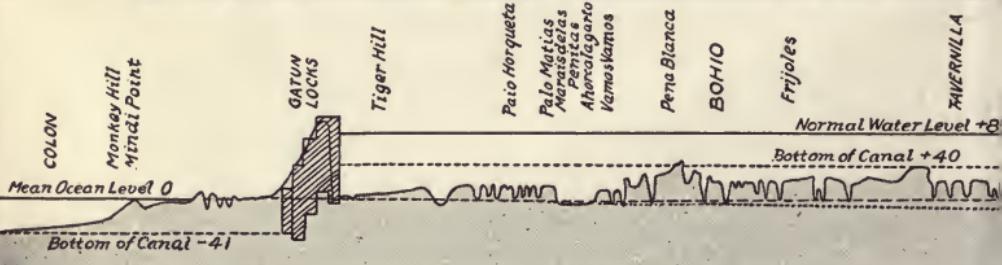
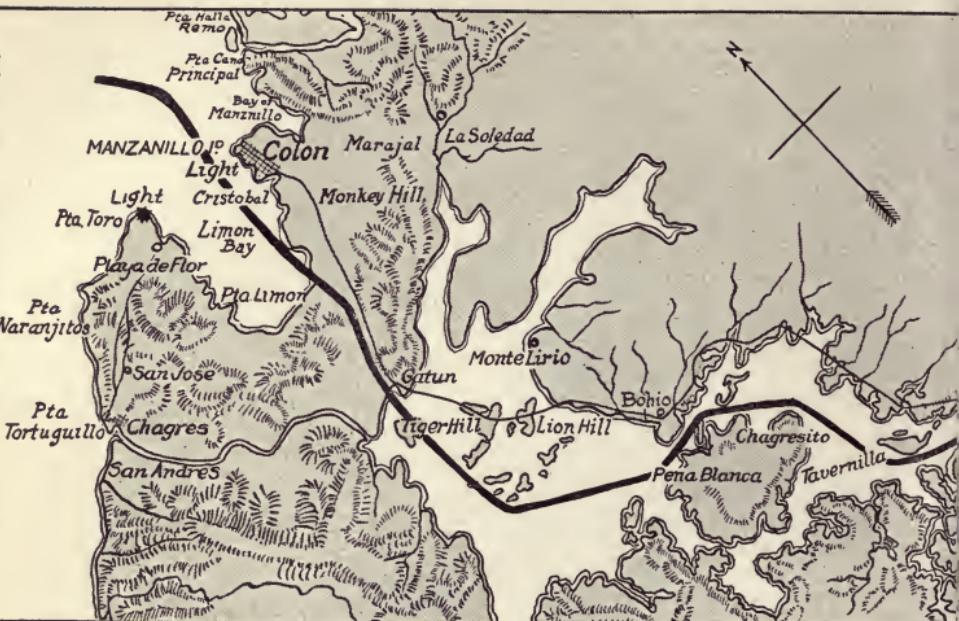
eral buildings, of which the Agriculture building was the largest, covering twenty acres, were those erected by the various States of the Union, and also of foreign nations. The imposing grandeur of the buildings, the artistic beauty of the grounds, all intensified by magnificent electrical illumination at night, presented a scene of marvelous splendor. Like other expositions, but on a larger scale and brought down to date, it was a panorama of the world's work, in the most beautiful setting that artistic and ingenious skill could devise.

ELECTION OF 1904

The strenuous and versatile President had attracted a great deal of attention in all quarters and no little opposition in some. The captains of industry who spoke for the corporate interests representing great aggregations of capital, had formulated plans to eliminate Roosevelt. Extensive steps had been taken to influence labor to turn against the President, but the death of Senator Hanna demoralized the opposition, and Roosevelt thenceforth became the dictator of his party.

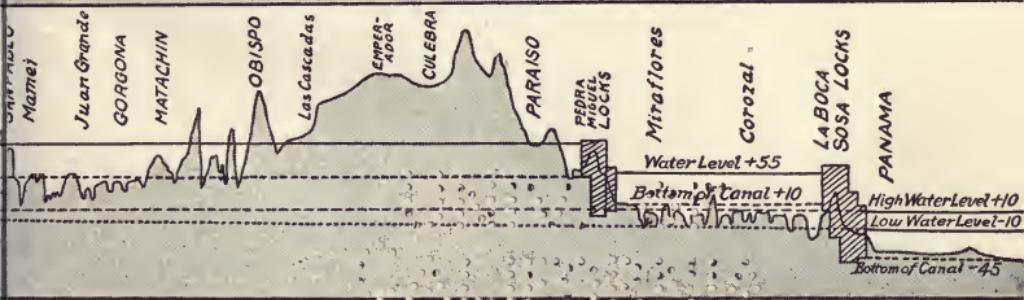
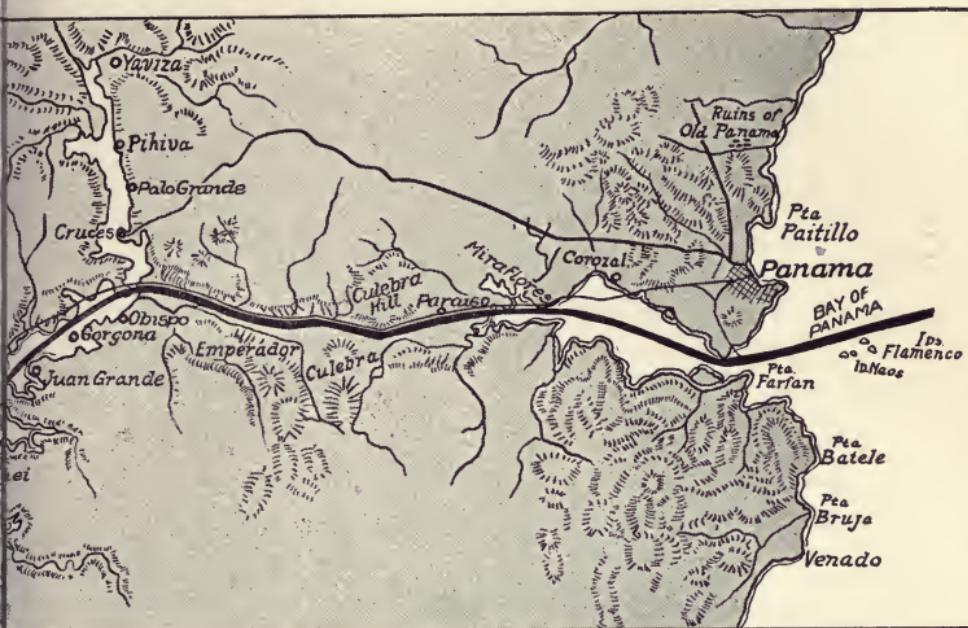
The prosecution by Attorney-General Knox of the Northern Securities "merger" and its dissolution had alarmed and exasperated capital's chiefs, who through their subsidized press sought to discredit the President as unsafe, revolutionary, and destructive, menacing national prosperity, thus arousing apprehension and mistrust in the unsuspecting mind. When his enemies saw their bub-

C A R I B B E A N S E A



The Panama Canal and
(Indicating the route taken by the great waterway from Colon to Panama, with
through which it passes. Reproduced from the Official

PACIFIC OCEAN



Section of its Topography

perpendicular section showing the elevation and depression of the country
 (Handbook compiled by the Secretary of the Commission)



ble burst there was a disgraceful scramble to get back within the regular party lines. The date of the convention—June 21st, 1904—found Capital at Chicago, the place of meeting, humbly bowing before the “big stick,” and decorously supporting the “unsafe” President. Roosevelt was nominated by acclamation, and Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, was named for second place.

In the platform was the declaration for a protective tariff, an ambiguous reference to trusts, and an unreserved indorsement of Roosevelt’s policies.

A few weeks later, the 6th of July, a dramatic convention was held at St. Louis by the Democrats. Twice before in national convention the Democratic party, as it had been known in the past, lost its identity and was submerged by the radicals, dominated by Mr. Bryan. But the conservative wing of the party had regained control, due partly to two successive defeats of the radicals, and the political kaleidoscope showed the incongruous picture of a very conservative Democratic party and a very radical Republican party.

A fiasco of W. R. Hearst, a millionaire newspaper owner, was the only opposition to Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, who was nominated on the first ballot. Parker was a gold Democrat, and wired the convention to this effect. No money plank had been inserted in the platform, and no opposition was raised against the candidate because of his views. Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, eighty years of age, was named for the Vice-Presidency.

Bryan, who was delegate-at-large, was very active in the convention, and though he was outvoted on important questions, his graceful submission to the will of the majority won for him much admiration and many friends. While many thousands of Bryan followers stayed away from the polls, Bryan was loyal to his party and vigorously joined in the campaign for Judge Parker.

President Roosevelt was elected by an overwhelming majority, due to a solid Republican vote and a Democratic party split. There was a host of Bryan idolaters, as was to be demonstrated four years later, who refused to vote at all. After the St. Louis convention Mr. Bryan grew in strength, and after the election of Roosevelt, his opinions still had great weight among his millions of followers. His declarations were not misleading nor ambiguous, nor qualified so as to be misunderstood. His statements were not couched in obscure platitudes. He was definite, concrete, and positive. He took the position that the questions at issue were not merely a matter of policy or political expediency, but involved eternal ethical principles. To a host of American citizens he was the ablest and clearest exponent of their convictions, and it was obvious that Bryan was not a dead issue in American politics.

The result of the election was such a hearty public indorsement of the Roosevelt policies that the President proceeded to conclude his first, and to enter upon his second term with pronounced self-confidence and virile independence.

Early in 1904 by his action against the Beef Trust and the Northern Securities "merger," notice had been served as to what might be expected if Roosevelt was reelected. The Senate was not in sympathy with the reformatory spirit of the President, and this historic, blasé body of colonial dignitaries were not slow to manifest their disapproval of the youthful President's unconventional enthusiasm to reach criminals in high places.

As President of a great nation Roosevelt was a unique character. He was a combination of qualities rarely found in one man. He was dramatic and vehement, irascible and vindictive. He was loquacious, marvelously versatile, and the public listened and applauded the vociferous, ethical utterances of the President. He was athletic, didactic, sometimes comic, and the pleased, amused public again approved and applauded. In the arena of serious action the constituents of the President were intensely earnest and sympathetic in their approval. He was a shrewd politician and yet remarkably courageous, and the results proved the expedience of his courage, and that he was stronger than his party. His defects were natural and human, and therefore condoned, and his vivacity and courage were human virtues, believed to be exercised in the interests of the common good, and therefore, to him, were elements of strength and popularity.

In the beginning of President Roosevelt's second term in 1905, there arose a civic spirit of reform throughout the length and breadth of the

nation, strengthened by the accepted standards of the administration's moral code. Civic federations were formed in the cities, and where reform candidates were chosen in the municipal elections, it was revealed that organized gangs of grafters had been looting the treasuries for years, involving millions of dollars. In Philadelphia Mayor Weaver's war against municipal graft was notorious all over the land. The bribing of legislatures by hired corporation lobbyists, the powerful influence over lawmakers by the liquor interests, aroused great activity and resulted in the abolition of the lobbyist in various States and a Prohibition tidal wave over many States. The liquor question in most of the States took the form of county option, or local option making the county unit.

During the summer of 1905 there were international publicity, much excitement, and not a little apprehension, caused by an official investigation of the great life insurance companies of New York. For years these giant institutions had been managed by a coterie of men who had not been required to make an accounting, and the investigation revealed the reckless and lavish use of millions of trust funds. These mammoth institutions, created out of the people's savings, while subject to peculations, were found to be built on a rock which could not be shattered, and were perfectly solvent with many millions of surplus.

The beneficial effect of the sensational investigation was the wholesale dismissal of the culpable officers, stringent legislation for strict supervision

and regulation of the insurance business, and a material reduction in the ultimate cost of insurance. Public attention was brought to the fact that the life insurance business had grown to be one of the greatest commercial and beneficent institutions of the world, holding an aggregate for disbursement of billions of dollars. The reform thus effected in the great American companies, with extensive business in foreign countries, resulted in placing the business on high commercial lines and increased public confidence.

The annual Presidential message, which was sent to Congress December 6, 1904, was voluminous and dealt mainly with industrial problems. Legislative control of large capital was urged, and a plea was made for a powerful navy, a Statehood bill was recommended, but the most important question brought to the attention of Congress was that of the regulation of railway rates.

The indictments returned by the Grand Jury of Portland, Oregon, against Senator John H. Mitchell, Congressmen Binger Hermann, and John N. Williamson for complicity in extensive land frauds, aroused much indignation and was the forerunner of public interest and agitation along the lines of conservation of national public utilities.

On the 6th of March the President's new Cabinet was announced. Among them were John Hay, Secretary of State; William H. Taft, Secretary of War; George B. Cortelyou, Postmaster-General, with other strong men holding the

portfolios of the different departments. The Cabinet suffered a serious loss on July 1st in the death of the Secretary of State, John Hay, who had commanded great respect and admiration at home and abroad, as a most trustworthy and able public servant in a very high office. Mr. Elihu Root, of New York, was appointed to fill the vacancy, and at the same time Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, was appointed Secretary of the Navy to succeed Paul Morton, resigned. The Government was feeling its way, sounding this and that commercial structure, looking into dark corners, tapping the walls, and opening erstwhile locked doors, seeking hidden causes for the distress and industrial unrest coëxistent with a period of universal commercial prosperity. In July, 1905, things were found by the Government sleuths which resulted in the indictment of twenty-six officials of the great packing companies and transportation agencies, for conspiracy in restraint of trade. Little came of it so far as it related to punishment of the guilty, but it served one great purpose; it directed the public eye aright to discover the Jonah of the Ship of State, and it demonstrated that the cause of the industrial national trouble could be found and the big criminals could be caught.

Labor and Capital were at war in many localities. The New England States, New York, Chicago, and Colorado were the centers of the greatest agitation. The Fall River textile strike, finally settled by Governor Douglas, of Massachusetts, had lasted six months. In Chicago, some months

later, the teamsters' strike grew to be serious and destructive to life and property. The coal strike of 1906, which involved fifteen States, and a bitter war between capital and labor in Colorado, culminating in the famous trial and confession of the notorious Harry Orchard, all indicated that the two great keepers of national wealth and prosperity were not merely pausing, but were in the throes of a mighty struggle. The coincident circumstances intensified the feeling in many quarters against the trusts, and the legal battle against this American leviathan was begun and not to be terminated for long years. The American people will await with no little apprehension the final issue as to whether the Government or the trusts shall rule.

The race problem, which has always been an issue in the States, was conspicuously brought to public attention in various localities during this period. Numerous cases of lynching and race riots occurred in Louisiana, Alabama, and Texas, all south of Mason and Dixon's line, but there were some serious riots calling for military interference in Ohio, Missouri, and other Northern States.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CATASTROPHE

On the 18th of April, 1906, the whole country was startled by news of a most terrible catastrophe at San Francisco. This beautiful and populous city of almost half a million people, the pride of the West, was smitten and laid in ruins and ashes

by the most severe earthquake ever known on the continent. At a few minutes past five o'clock on Wednesday morning, April the 18th, when some were arising, many more still soundly sleeping, there was a shiver which ran over the city, quickly followed by other tremors more severe, when inhabitants were aroused by crashing timbers and falling buildings. Sleeping families found roofs falling in, floors hurled to the street. In seconds rather than minutes, the streets were full of ruins and swarming, screaming, unclothed men, women, and children. The startling eruption of Mt. Vesuvius earlier in the same month had given evidence of seismic disturbance, but at San Francisco and vicinity the disturbances were vastly greater. The city had been subject to subterranean disturbances and minor shocks had caused damage at intervals during the century. Brick and stone had not been used to any extent in building, more than ninety per cent. of the structures being of wood, nor were they extremely high, the *Chronicle* Building of ten stories being one of the highest. This unparalleled shock was too severe for even the wooden buildings to withstand, and hundreds of lives were lost in the wreckage of the homes and hotels destroyed. The great City Hall collapsed, as also did the Palace Hotel. A large part of the property loss was due to the spread of conflagration. The wreckage started many fires, the water supply was destroyed, and the fire department helpless, and could only resort to dynamite in the effort to check the flames. The 'quake

cut off communication from the rest of the world by wire and rail. The people by the thousands were left in a primitive state in the streets and the parks. As soon as steam and human sympathy could bring relief, millions in money and food and clothes were sent to the sufferers. Tents and food were also furnished by the United States army, and the city placed under martial law. Other points in California were within the belt-lines of seismic disturbance, and suffered serious loss, especially in property.

Leland Stanford University at Palo Alto, thirty miles south of San Francisco, was terribly shattered. Santa Rosa, north of San Francisco, suffered great loss of life and property. Five hundred miles south of San Francisco, at Los Angeles, several undestructive shocks were felt. The good cheer on the part of the unfortunate homeless, rich and poor, was remarkable. The people instinctively appeared to drop back into the primitive state of equality. All standards of value were annihilated. Life was the priceless thing. The code of morals and conduct instantly and automatically put into effect was the corollary of our faith in humanity and everlasting human progress. The loss in property to San Francisco ran into the hundreds of millions, the destructive fires for days spreading over the best portions of the residence and business sections of the city. When stock was taken it was found that by removal and other losses the population of San Francisco was depleted by many thousands. Immediate and determined

steps were taken to rebuild, on a grand scale, what should be known as the "new" San Francisco, and the rapidity and magnificence of the reconstruction of the ruined city of the Golden Gate are a marvel of American energy and achievement.

In political and governmental affairs there were several incidents of world interest during this year. In August a rebellion broke out in Cuba, and spread with such rapidity and became so formidable that President Palma requested the United States to intervene, and our President promptly responding with an armed force, peace was quickly restored without difficulty.

On the 9th day of August, 1906, Russian and Japanese envoys, in response to an invitation from the President, met at Portsmouth Navy Yard to agree upon a treaty of peace, terminating the Russo-Japanese War. This result was diplomatically brought about and the treaty signed September 5th. Owing to serious international complication which had arisen at the close of the war between Japan and Russia, in arranging peace terms, it was regarded as a splendid stroke of diplomacy on the part of the President of the United States when he succeeded in getting the two nations to agree upon and sign a treaty of peace on neutral grounds.

Earlier during the year, in May, the remains of John Paul Jones, long in obscurity, were discovered and brought from France to the United States and sepultured in Bancroft Hall, at Annapolis Naval Academy, with fitting national honors.

The session of Congress which closed the 30th of August, 1906, marked more important legislation than for many years. After a bitter struggle between the President and Congress the Railroad Rate Act was passed in a modified form from the original draft, but as finally passed it authorizes the Inter-State Commerce Commission to fix maximum rates when the rate is complained of, leaving to the railroads the right of appeal to the courts. It compels the railroads to have a published uniform freight rate. It prohibits discrimination in freight or passenger traffic, prohibits the giving of passes, makes sleeping cars and express companies common carriers, and has an extensive effect for the betterment of the railroad traffic of the country.

Another most important and far-reaching law enacted by the Fifty-ninth Congress was the Pure Food Law, brought about largely through the able and untiring efforts of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, who has been in the Government service for many years. This law applies to all inter-State trade and provides a penalty for adulterations, misbrands, and use of poisons in foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors. This law met with great opposition from fake patent medicine concerns and their ilk, but was one of the most beneficial acts of Congress in many years.

In March, 1906, some disturbance arose in the Philippine Islands, a considerable insurrection having been stirred up by the Moros. Prompt action on the part of the United States in

sending additional troops and vigorous measures adopted by the military on the islands soon quelled the disturbance and complete order was restored. The loss in consequence of the insurrection was six hundred Moros and seventeen Americans killed.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1906

As in the autumn elections of every even-numbered year a new national House of Representatives is chosen, the public takes an interest second only to that awakened by the quadrennial Presidential contest. This interest is always greatly enhanced by various State elections that come at the same time. In the autumn of 1906 the one State to attract national attention above all others was New York. For governor of this State the Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes, a lawyer of great ability, who had won national fame by his masterly way of conducting the life insurance probe.

The Democratic candidate was William R. Hearst, the millionaire proprietor of a chain of newspapers scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Mr. Hearst had organized a new party called the Independence League, and this party had first put him in nomination for the governorship. The Democrats were at this moment without a strong leader in New York, and from the fact that they knew that Mr. Hearst would draw many votes from their party, they ratified the

nomination of the Independence League and made him their candidate also.

As the campaign progressed it became clear that if Hearst won the governorship he would become a very prominent national figure, and probably the logical Democratic candidate for the Presidency two years hence. But a great many Democrats did not like the radical journalist and his methods, and they were sure to cut him in the election. Moreover, the administration took an active hand in the campaign. President Roosevelt sent Secretary Elihu Root into the State, and at Utica Root delivered a scathing philippic against Hearst that has few parallels since the days of Demosthenes.

The result of this extraordinary election was that Hearst was defeated by a plurality of about 53,000, while the remainder of the Democratic ticket was elected by small margins. This threw Hearst again into the background, insured the continued Democratic national leadership to Mr. Bryan, and made Hughes one of the foremost Republican leaders in the nation.

In other States the campaigns were locally important, but far less national in interest than in New York. Pennsylvania had a fierce campaign, a newly formed "Lincoln party" having joined with the Democrats in the hope of overthrowing the regular Republican machine, headed by United States Senator Penrose. In this they failed, and Edwin S. Stuart, the regular Republican nominee, was chosen governor. The New England States

all remained in the Republican column, except Rhode Island, which elected a Democrat, Mr. Higgins, governor by a small plurality. In the Middle West there were few surprises in the State elections. Governor Johnson, Democrat, of Minnesota, was reelected by a majority of sixty thousand, while the new State of Oklahoma was completely captured by the Democrats, who would therefore be entitled to write the new constitution for the State.

The new Congress showed a decided falling off in the Republican majority, but yet a sufficient working majority (something above fifty) in the new House. For an off year this was considered a very good showing, one of the best, indeed, in the history of the country for the party in power. It certainly revealed no great discontent with the administration.

Coincident with the autumn campaign arose an international question that threatened for a time the peace of the nation. It came in the form of a cry from the Pacific Coast against the threatened danger of an unlimited Asiatic migration to that part of the country. Twenty years earlier a similar agitation, directed wholly against Chinese immigration—as no other Asiatic immigrants were at that moment in sight—had resulted in the drastic Chinese Exclusion Act. But it was now the Japanese that were the objects of attack. Not included in the Chinese act, these people had been crossing the Pacific, chiefly from Hawaii, in increasing numbers. Slowly for years public senti-

ment on the coast was crystallizing against them, and the subject was lifted into international prominence by a comparatively trifling incident in San Francisco.

The School Board of that city passed an ordinance excluding Japanese children from the public schools attended by white children. We have a treaty with Japan which guarantees to Japanese residing in America the same treatment accorded our own people. In October the Japanese ambassador at Washington entered a protest against the discriminating act of the San Francisco school board.

President Roosevelt quickly saw the danger to the national peace and he took a decided stand against the school authorities of the city of the Golden Gate. Later he sent Secretary of the Interior Metcalf to the city to investigate the case. His report was made in December. It developed that fewer than a hundred Japanese had been attending the public schools of San Francisco and that the school board, led or driven by labor agitators and yellow journalism, had magnified a molehill into a mountain, thus disturbing international peace.

In the winter following, the mayor and school board of San Francisco made a journey to the nation's capital by invitation, to confer with the President and Secretary of State about the subject under dispute. The result of this conference was that the board agreed to rescind its order, and, on the other hand, that steps should

be taken toward prohibiting the continued coming of the Japanese to America. It happened that at this moment there was pending in conference a new immigration law, and herein lay the opportunity to meet the demands of the Pacific coast in such a way as not to offend Japan. Accordingly a clause embodied in the immigration law that was later enacted (approved by the President on February 20) provided that the President be authorized to refuse to admit laborers from our insular possessions or from the Panama Canal Zone, if in his judgment their coming would be detrimental to our industrial conditions. This was later applied to Japanese and Koreans, and the problem for the time at least was solved, as the Japanese Government does not issue passports authorizing Japanese laborers to come directly to the United States. This arrangement proved quite agreeable to the Japanese Government which, it must be added, had maintained a dignified and friendly attitude toward the United States throughout the pending difficulties.

The Japanese are a great people—intelligent, quick-witted, full of courage and ambition. Their marvelously rapid rise in the scale of civilization in the last half-century has attracted the admiration of the world. But with all that, every thoughtful American will agree that their coming to the United States in unlimited numbers would prove a calamity in the end. Their civilization, like that of the Chinese, is so different from our own that

the two cannot blend into one, and if the two races were to develop side by side on the same soil and under the same government, the result would be a future race problem far more serious and menacing than any we have yet encountered. The Pacific Coast people are therefore quite right in their instinctive impulse to exclude the unlimited coming of the Orientals.

During the summer of 1907 a memorable exposition was held in Virginia to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. Here on the banks of the noble river, bearing the name of the first Stuart English king, was the seat of the colony that grew into the great State of Virginia; here, too, were born self-government and negro slavery—the one to expand until it became the model for nearly all civilized nations; the other to spread its baneful influence until it divides a great people into hostile sections and finally brings about the most destructive of modern wars.

The contrast between the America of the day when Jamestown was founded, and the day of the opening of this exposition, is the most striking illustration of the marvelous progress of modern times. A vast continent, covered with primeval forests and thinly peopled with a wild, uncivilized race, was transformed in the three centuries into a gigantic self-governing nation of nearly a hundred million people, with their vast cities, their wonderful systems of railways and telegraph, and

a standard of civilization second to none on the earth.

The most notable world event of the year 1907 was the second meeting of the World's Peace Tribunal at The Hague, the first having been held in 1899 at the suggestion of the Czar Nicholas II of Russia. The great object of the tribunal is to work for the reduction of armaments and foster universal peace among the nations. The second conference met on June 15, 1907, nearly fifty countries being represented. M. Melidoff, of Russia, was chosen president. There were in all eleven sessions, extending to October 18. Thirteen separate propositions were agreed on and sent out to the nations. Many of these were ratified by most of the leading governments. They deal with the rights and duties of the nations on land and sea in their relations with one another. While the conference was in session, on July 30, the cornerstone was laid of a magnificent Peace Palace at The Hague, due to the generosity of the American philanthropist, Mr. Andrew Carnegie.

Two things highly desired by the public opinion of the world were doubtless brought nearer by these sessions, but not fully brought to consummation. One of these is embodied in the resolution passed on August 17: "That it is highly desirable that the governments should resume the serious study of the question of limiting armaments." The other was the proposal of the American delegates that a permanent international "Court of Arbitral Justice" be established, to

which all nations should look for arbitration in case of differences with one another. The proposition was ably advocated, but not adopted. We believe, however, that the time is not far distant when such a court will be established. The public opinion of the world, the final arbiter in all questions of world-wide significance, is slowly but irresistibly crystallizing in favor of universal peace.

In the fall of 1907 occurred one of the most disastrous financial panics, accompanied by an industrial depression, that deeply affected the economic conditions of the nation. As early as January of the same year there was a financial crisis in Wall Street, which came again at intervals in the following months. On October 22 the climax was reached when a great run on the Knickerbocker Trust Company, of New York, and its various branches, was begun. No longer could the industrial world remain apart and unaffected, as it had done in the preceding months. About the beginning of November the commercial world was struck with cyclonic force. Banks all over the country refused to cash checks, except very small ones. It was not long before the great industries of the country were in a state of demoralization. Within three weeks half a million men were laid off and the industrial retrenchment multiplied on all sides.

A panic usually follows a season of prosperity and is caused in part by overspeculation. But it would be impossible to point to any particular cause as the sole factor in bringing about a panic.

Doubtless a disturbance in the financial and business world is the resultant of various agencies that converge at a certain moment, and the wisest economist is unable to point them out definitely and unerringly. So with the panic of 1907, which continued far into the following year, when gradually the business of the country assumed its normal condition.

One cause of this panic, however, as generally agreed, is our inelastic system of currency. Our banking system is such that the volume of currency in circulation will contract when most needed, as in the case of moving of the crops of the Middle West, and will expand when least needed. This defect is a most serious one, and for years it has attracted the attention of financiers, with no practical results thus far. Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, brought forward a bill at this short session of Congress providing for a central national bank, which if established it was hoped would remedy the evil. But after much discussion the scheme fell to the ground.

Representative Fowler, of New Jersey, also devised a plan of currency reform. His measure was a comprehensive one for the creation of a banknote currency which should be guaranteed by the Government, which in turn should be secured by a fund contributed by the banks. Mr. Fowler's plan also came to naught.

Among the colored people of the South there was considerable agitation on account of the "Brownsville affair." Three companies of colored

soldiers were stationed at Fort Ringgold, near Brownsville, Texas. One night in August, 1906, they or some of them made a raid on the town, firing their muskets right and left, killing one white man and wounding several. The affair created much excitement, and President Roosevelt, after making every effort to discover the guilty ones without success (as they refused to bear witness against each other), ordered the entire three companies discharged from the public service.

Instantly the whole colored race of the United States broke out in wrath against the President. In December he came out in a vigorous message defending his action. The matter was soon taken up by the Senate. The committee on military affairs made a report sustaining the action of the President, but with a dissenting minority report by Senator J. B. Foraker, of Ohio. Roosevelt sent a message recommending that a law be passed permitting the reënlistment of all the discharged men who could prove their innocence. This again Foraker combated with much ability and succeeded in having a Senatorial investigation ordered.

It was believed by most white people that the Brownsville affair was dragged on for two years for the political effect. Senator Foraker, whatever his object may have been, succeeded in winning the whole colored race, and by them he was promptly suggested for the Presidency. At length, however, the Brownsville matter was settled on the lines suggested by President Roosevelt.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1908

The great absorbing subject of the year 1908 was the campaign and elections, which included the choosing of a President, a House of Representatives, many State governors, and innumerable minor officials. This quadrennial duty of the American people is not only a duty; it is a national diversion, an intensely interesting game, entered into with all the zest of the sportsman, enjoyed by the millions; and so indomitable is the good will of the American people that the defeated forget their sorrows within a few days and are almost ready to join in the rejoicing of the victors, for at bottom every one knows that the country is safe in the hands of either great party.

The campaign of 1908 became a leading topic of general conversation earlier, it seems, than usual. For many months before the meeting of the national conventions the various candidates of the two great parties were widely discussed in all classes of society.

The Republicans, not all, but many of them, began to discuss Roosevelt for a third term, on the supposition that, as no other conspicuous leader had developed in the party, he would be the one sure pilot that would lead them to victory. But all these third-term rumors were set at rest when the President, on December 11, 1907, reaffirmed a statement that he had issued on election night in 1904, namely, that under no circumstances would

he be a candidate for reëlection. This left the field open to all who chose to enter the race.

As the winter months passed the most widely discussed possibility was William H. Taft, Secretary of War in the cabinet of Roosevelt. Taft had been governor of the Philippines and had made a splendid record in the archipelago. He was well known throughout the country and it was no secret that President Roosevelt favored his candidacy. The chief rival, as it seemed at first, whom Mr. Taft would have had to reckon with was Senator Foraker, of the same State, Ohio. Not that Foraker was popular; in truth, he had a meager national following except among the negroes whose allegiance he had won in the Brownsville affair; but because of the fact that he had stolen a march on Taft by securing the indorsement of the League of Republican Clubs of Ohio. In November, 1907, the league had indorsed Foraker for President and the latter had formally accepted. It was not believed that Foraker could be elected President; but this indorsement seemed to indicate that Taft would not have the support of his own State in the convention—and seldom can a man receive a nomination for the Presidency when not unequivocally supported by his own State.

The party put forth in the various States the usual number of "favorite sons," all of whom were able and conscientious men. There was Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, a member of the Cabinet, as was Mr. Taft, and a very able and successful lawyer; Charles W. Fairbanks, Vice-

President, the favorite son of Indiana; Senators La Follette and Cummins, able, brilliant, progressive men, the respective first choices of Wisconsin and Iowa; and above all Governor Hughes, of New York. Hughes had shown such power as the life insurance prober, had made such a brilliant battle for the governorship of his State, that he was now pronounced by many the ablest Republican in the nation. But Hughes' weakness lay in the fact that he was not a national politician and had a meager following outside his own State.

Turning now to the camp of the enemy, we find the Democrats, like the Republicans, with one strong popular leader, William J. Bryan; but unlike the Republican idol, their leader was willing to make the race. Bryan is one of the ablest men that ever rose in American public life; his character is without a flaw. He had done what none but Henry Clay ever did before him—he had held a great party in a viselike allegiance to himself in the face of years and years of continuous defeat. Indeed, it was a marvelous thing—this man, a private citizen in private life, without a fortune and without an office to bestow, holding six million voters through twelve years of party disaster by his mere personality, his power of leadership!

But there was one source of fatal weakness with Mr. Bryan. He was looked upon as a radical and the most conservative element of his party, alienated at the time of his spectacular nomination at Chicago in 1896, had remained aloof and re-



Peary's Route to the Pole, w.

(This map shows the course taken by Peary's latest and final triumphant expedition, w. the Pole has engaged the attention and enlisted the supreme endeavors of exploring high northern latitudes since the year 1800 are those of Parry (British) in 1819 at McClure (British), 1850-53; German Expedition, 1860-70; Austro-Hungarian Expedition 1881-84; Nansen (Norwegian), 1893-96; Abruzzi (Italian), 1900; Sverdrup (Norwegian), of Orleans (Belgian), 1905; Peary—reached the Pole—1909)



It was Reached April 6, 1909

planted the Stars and Stripes at the northernmost point on the globe. The search for many nations for three centuries. The most noteworthy of the achievements in reaching 827; Franklin and Richardson (British), 1821-26; Franklin alone (British), 1845, 1847, 1848; 372-74; Nordenstjöld (Swedish), 1878-79; De Long (American), 1880-81; Greely (American), 1902; Peary (American), 1902; Ziegler (American), 1903-05; Peary (American), 1906; Duke



fused to be reconciled. This element was not large, but large enough to hold the balance of voting power, and, winning as he was, the brilliant Nebraskan was unable to win the disaffected Democrats.

Next to Bryan, the Democrats talked of Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, for the race of 1908. Johnson was a remarkable man. Not even Lincoln had risen from a lower depth of poverty and obscurity, nor shown higher aspirations and ideals. Born of Swedish parents, with a mother and several younger brothers and sisters to support, Johnson spent his boyhood years in ceaseless toil. Picking up an education as best he could, he rose in early manhood in public life and became governor of the great State of his birth in spite of the usual great majority of the party opposite that to which he belonged.

Judge Gray, of Delaware, was also put forward as a favorite son of the Democrats of Delaware. Gray was a strong man, but too conservative perhaps for this year, when the tendencies of both parties were toward progressive liberalism.

Two other possible candidates may be mentioned in this connection: Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, who had, in the city of St. Louis, done more, single-handed, for the overthrow of intrenched corruption, had "convicted more boodlers than were ever before convicted by any single prosecuting officer in the world's history"; and Judson Harmon, of Ohio, who in the Cabinet of President Cleveland, and in the government service as

prosecutor of a Western railroad for alleged rebating, had proved himself a great lawyer and a public-spirited citizen of unswerving integrity.

As the winter and spring months passed it seemed clear that Taft and Bryan were overshadowing their rivals and were practically sure to be chosen standard-bearers of their respective parties. And so it proved.

The great Republican convention met in Chicago on the 16th of June and two days later Mr. Taft was nominated for the great office on the first ballot, by a vote of 702 out of a total vote of 980. It was widely asserted that the administration had used its vast power to bring about the nomination. There was much truth in the assertion; but all agreed that aside from this fact, Mr. Taft was as able, as popular, as honest and patriotic, and as likely to carry the election as any other man the convention could have chosen. For his running mate on the ticket James S. Sherman, of New York, who had long been a representative in Congress, was selected by the convention.

The Democratic convention met in Denver on the 6th of July. It was a foregone conclusion that Mr. Bryan would carry off the honors. At the mention of his name by a speaker the vast assemblage went wild with enthusiasm and an hour and twenty-five minutes elapsed before order could be restored. On the first ballot Bryan received about nine-tenths of the votes, the remaining being scattered among favorite sons. Mr. John W. Kern,

of Indiana, was named for second place on the ticket.

The platforms of the two great parties had many points in resemblance. Each promised a far better administration of the government during the ensuing four years than the other could possibly give. On the tariff both promised that a revision should be made, the Democrats declaring that the revision should be downward, the Republicans being noncommittal on that point. Two items of the Democratic platform became favorites with Mr. Bryan in the whirlwind campaign that followed. These were the publication of campaign contributions, with the names of the contributors, before election. The other was the guaranteeing of bank deposits by the national government.

Both candidates for the presidency "took the stump," a thing never before witnessed in the history of the country. Hitherto it was usual for the candidates of the great parties for the Presidency to refrain from entering the hustings. Now and then this rule had been suspended, as in the cases of Greeley in 1872, Blaine in 1884, and Bryan in his earlier campaigns. In each instance, it is noteworthy, the candidate so doing was defeated. Now, however, this result could not follow, as both Taft and Bryan made extensive speaking tours.

Both drew vast crowds. Mr. Taft was no match for Bryan in handling an audience; but he made a good impression everywhere, as an able

and sincere man who would make a safe and sane President. Mr. Bryan stands alone as a versatile and adroit platform orator. He has not a peer among living men. Vast crowds greeted him everywhere he went. Many who went to hear him were his sincere admirers, but cast their votes for Taft, believing him the better fitted for the great office. The campaign was clean and dignified, each candidate entertaining a profound respect for the other.

The minor parties of this campaign must not be overlooked. Before the great parties had met in national convention two of the smaller parties had put their tickets in the field. The remnants of the moribund Populist party met in April at St. Louis and named the brilliant Georgian, Thomas E. Watson, for first place, and S. Williams, of Indiana, as his running mate. The Socialists met in Chicago in May and placed the well-known leader, Eugene V. Debs, in nomination, with Benjamin Hanford, of New York, for second place.

The Prohibition party held its convention at Columbus, Ohio, the middle of July, naming as its standard-bearers Eugene W. Chafin, of Illinois, and A. S. Watkins, of Ohio. The Socialist Labor party also put a ticket in the field.

Of all the minor parties, however, the one which attracted most attention was the newly born Independence League. This party was the creation of W. R. Hearst, whose spectacular race with Hughes for the governorship of New York we

have noticed. Mr. Hearst did not choose to permit his own name to go on the ticket, and Thomas Hisgen, a manufacturer of Massachusetts, was named for first place, with John Temple Graves, of Georgia, for second. Mr. Hearst evidently expected a very large vote for his ticket. He made a speaking tour and attracted much public attention. The sensation of the campaign was made by him when he made public certain letters which he had in some way purloined from the Standard Oil Company. These letters disclosed unknown relations between that company and certain public men, including Senator Foraker, of Ohio, and played their part in blasting a few reputations.

The result of the election was a decided victory for Mr. Taft, he receiving three hundred and twenty-one electoral votes to one hundred and sixty-two for Bryan and none for any of the other candidates. Taft's plurality over Bryan reached almost a million and a quarter in the popular vote. The Socialists had made heavy gains over former elections, polling about four hundred and fifty thousand votes, which, however, is scarcely three per cent. of the total vote. One surprise was the small showing of Mr. Hearst's party, its poll being but eighty-three thousand votes.



William Howard Taft
President 1909-

The Democrats took their defeat as good-naturedly as usual, and marvelously soon after the shouts of victory had died away the people were going about their daily affairs as if nothing had happened.

Not alone for its campaign will the year 1908 be remembered. The panic of the preceding year was receding in the distance, the crops were good, and the people were prosperous and happy. It is true that the government receipts of six hundred million dollars fell short of meeting the disbursements by sixty millions. But everyone knew that this condition would be temporary and no one had time to worry over the deficit.

Congress enacted a few good laws in 1908. One of these is the Employers' Liability law, enacted in April. It provides that common carriers doing inter-State business must be responsible for accidents to their employees while in service, any agreement or contract to the contrary notwithstanding. In May a stringent child labor law was enacted in the District of Columbia, which was intended to be a model for State legislation in the same line. It was believed that a law by Congress governing child labor in the various States would be of doubtful constitutionality.

Probably the most important single piece of legislation was the Emergency Currency law. It provides for associations of banks, not less than ten in one association, with power to issue in times of financial stringency an emergency currency to the amount of five hundred million dollars. This

currency must be properly secured and so taxed as to insure its retirement when the period of stringency has passed. Congress also at this session, which ended on May 30, appropriated \$29,227,000 for the Panama Canal, \$1,500,000 to represent the United States at the exposition in Tokio, Japan, in 1912, and remitted \$10,800,000 of the Chinese indemnity from the Boxer uprising of 1900. This act greatly pleased the people of China and their government decided to expend the income from this sum, or a large part of it, in sending Chinese students to the United States to be educated.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

The 4th of March, 1909, the day on which Mr. Taft was inaugurated President of the United States, was attended by the worst snowstorm of the winter. Trains bearing thousands of visitors were stalled in the snow and failed to reach the capital city before the ceremonies were over. But there was little to see by those who were there. The usual street parades were held with the greatest of difficulty, and the new President was obliged to depart from the usual custom. He delivered his inaugural address in the Senate chamber and not from the platform erected for the purpose on the east steps of the Capitol.

It was at first thought that the new President would retain substantially the old Cabinet of his predecessor, of which he had been a member; but

he wisely chose to select a new one. Retaining Secretary Wilson in the Department of Agriculture, and transferring George von L. Meyer from the Post Office to the Navy Department, he chose new men for the remaining positions. A happy choice for Secretary of State was Senator P. C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest men in the country. For the Treasury, Franklin MacVeagh, a Chicago Democrat, was selected, and Jacob M. Dickerson, another Democrat, from Tennessee, was chosen Secretary of War. The remaining members of the new Cabinet were F. H. Hitchcock, Postmaster-General; Charles Nagel, Secretary of Commerce and Labor; R. A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, and George W. Wickersham, Attorney-General.

The one great subject before the American people in the spring and summer of 1909 was the revision of the tariff, for which a special session of Congress had been called, to meet on the 15th of March. Two days after the opening of the session a comprehensive tariff bill was introduced in the House by Representative Payne, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. It was the result of months of study of the committee aided by expert assistance.

This draft of the new tariff elicited much favorable comment from all sides, regardless of party. It seemed to be a sincere effort to revise the tariff for the benefit of the whole people. It reduced by fifty per cent the highly protective duties on steel and lumber, put hides on the free list,

reduced the duties on many necessities of life, and provided for an inheritance tax.

Had the Payne bill been accepted bodily by the Senate, it would have pleased the country in general—all except the pampered interests and trusts which had fattened on the Dingley tariff at the people's expense—and it would have become a tower of strength to the Republican party. But, alas! this was not to be. The Payne bill must run the gauntlet of the Senate and be twisted and warped until it loses its identity in the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The "interests" had become aroused. They made their onslaughts, with the usual success, on that ancient body, the Senate, and the Payne-Aldrich tariff became one of the most highly protective measures that ever passed an American Congress. The Corporation Tax feature, however, which was embodied in the law, was not displeasing to the public.

President Taft took little part in shaping the tariff measure. He played golf and enjoyed the exhilaration of his new office. No new President ever does much toward coercing Congress. He has well-defined ideas of the separate constitutional duties of the legislative and executive branches of government. But in a year or two he discovers that Congress needs watching and leading; and if he is a strong man, he becomes its leader and he shapes legislation in a larger degree no doubt than the framers of the Constitution ever intended. No better example of this fact can be found than the contrast between the making of

the Payne-Aldrich tariff and the putting through of the Reciprocity treaty with Canada, two years later. The one was a purely Congressional measure; the other an Executive measure, put through both houses under the Executive pressure, in the face of the remarkable fact that probably not one-third of the members of Congress actually favored it.

However, as to the Payne-Aldrich tariff, the President made a stand as to a few points, intimating that he would not sign the bill unless his wishes were respected. They were; he signed the measure on August 5th, the date of its final passage, but with an apology to the country, a confession that it was not an ideal tariff, but the best attainable at the time.

The tariff of 1909 is not a revision downward; the average duties are slightly increased. The people of both great parties had demanded some relief from the high cost of living, fostered and enhanced by the excessive tariff. They had asked bread; they received a stone. Nothing was clearer than the fact that the great protected interests had again dictated the tariff schedules to the lawmakers, and this tariff is the most highly protective measure ever enacted in the annals of the country.

A few items of this famous measure will here be interesting. The manufacture of cotton fabrics, for example, highly protected by the Dingley tariff, had made gigantic progress, and many cotton mills had paid as high as sixty per cent. dividends, and even higher—at the expense of the con-

sumers. Confidently the people expected relief from this extortionate schedule. On the other hand, the new tariff raises the cotton fabrics duties to a point thirteen per cent. higher than it was before, and on some fabrics, by changes in classification, the rates have been increased more than one hundred per cent. The woolen schedule is equally indefensible. It discriminates against the carded wool industry, which produces the poor man's cloth, and in favor of the worsted industry, the former being taxed as high as 200 per cent.—on coarse woolen cloth, blankets, and the like.

In the metal schedules there were general reductions of the excessive Dingley rates; but they were still left far higher than the necessities of the case demanded. Mr. Carnegie testified before the committee that steel products no longer need protection at all. But in spite of the most conclusive evidence the average duties on steel products are very high. On the whole, the reductions of the Payne-Aldrich bill are far more than offset by increases of duty.

A wide cry of protest came from all parts of the country on the passage of this tariff measure. All classes of people became convinced that the protected interests had dictated it. It had been fondly hoped that this Congress would bring forth a measure that would please the people and that the tariff would be taken out of politics for a few years. But instead, the cry of real tariff revision became louder than ever, and so it continues to this day. The Republican party instantly began

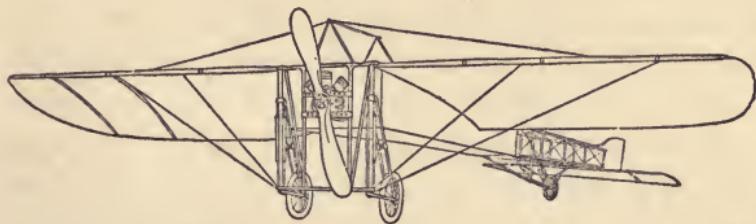
to lose ground. It had lost its great opportunity to do the people a service and weaken its great rival, and at the next opportunity the people had to speak at the polls, in the fall of 1910, the Republican majority in the House was swept away and replaced by a larger Democratic majority.

The year 1909 will be remembered for the rapid development of aerial navigation. For many years inventors and scientists had been working on this problem. The possibility of man's flying with artificial wings, in bird fashion, had long been given up, as it was evident that he had not the necessary strength. The possibility of utilizing steam or some other power was conceived. For twenty years Hiram Maxim, an American inventor in England, worked on this problem. Professor Langley, of the Smithsonian Institution, also worked for years with the same end in view. Neither of these inventors was wholly successful, but they did much toward bringing about a final solution of the problem.

The Wright brothers, of Dayton, Ohio, were among the first to succeed in flying, without the use of gas and using a machine heavier than air. At the same time there were others in various parts of the world working on the flying machine, and several others were successful almost simultaneously with the American inventors. On July 25, 1909, M. Bleriot, a Frenchman, made the first successful flight across the English Channel. In August, 1911, a French aviator remained in the air twelve hours without alighting.

What the future of aërial navigation will be no one can foretell. It is hardly probable that the art will ever be of much practical importance in the commercial world. But, though the business is a dangerous one and a majority of the earliest flyers have met death in their practicing, the principle of flying by machinery is known and the world will never lose the art.

A spectacular cruise of the American fleet had been made around the world and was termi-



The Blériot Monoplane

nated in February, 1909, when it reached Hampton Roads, after a direct run from Gibraltar. In December, 1907, the fleet had been sent from eastern waters around Cape Horn to the coast of California, where it arrived in the following April. Thence it proceeded across the Pacific, visiting Australia and Japan and many Oriental points, returning by way of the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean. The hearty applause which our fleet received in foreign ports was a source of great gratification to the American people, as it attested to the general good will toward us in all parts of the world. The entire trip had covered about

forty-five thousand miles and was not marred by a single accident in the entire journey.

The greatest interest of the year 1910 centered in the Congressional and State elections. For many months there seemed to be a general trend away from the Republican party, chiefly because of the disappointment of the country in the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Immediately on the passage of that tariff law there was a serious disaffection in the party. A considerable number of Senators and Representatives known as "Insurgents" or "Progressives" protested vigorously against the tariff law and have since opposed many administration measures.

In a few by-elections, as the English would put it, the direction of the political wind was clearly indicated. To fill vacancies in the lower House of Congress a special election was held in Boston and another in the Rochester district in New York some months before the time of the regular election. Both districts were strongly Republican and in each the Democratic candidate was elected by a large majority.

As the time of the regular election approached the excitement grew intense. The Republicans were on the defensive, but they used every effort to stem the Democratic tide that seemed to be sweeping over the land. Former President Roosevelt, having returned from a year's hunting tour in Africa, threw himself into the campaign with all the vigor of his vigorous nature. But the tide could not be stemmed. The election of November

8th showed great Democratic gains in almost every part of the country.

The United States Senate still remains Republican, but with a reduced majority. The political complexion of the House was completely changed, a Republican majority of over fifty being replaced by a Democratic majority of sixty. Mr. Cannon's stormy career as Speaker thus came to an end, and Champ Clark, the sturdy Missouri Democrat, attained his life's ambition by being chosen the following spring to that office.

The results of the State elections were even more striking. In seven Northern States Republican governors were replaced by governors of the opposite party, while three Republican governors replaced Democrats. Governor Harmon, of Ohio, was reelected by a majority of a little above a hundred thousand, while John A. Dix, the Democratic candidate for governor of New York, won by a margin of seventy thousand. In a few States the Republicans won the governorship from their opponents, through local causes. In Minnesota, owing to the death of Governor Johnson, the Democrats lost their hold and the State went back to the Republican column. In Nebraska there was a similar result through the defection of Mr. Bryan on account of the temperance question, while in Tennessee the Republicans won the governorship, the first time since the Civil War, because of a split in the Democratic party.

Perhaps the most striking personal victory of the campaign was the election of Dr. Woodrow

Wilson governor of New Jersey by a majority of fifty thousand. Wilson had been an educator and a student and writer on governmental and historic subjects, and at the time of his nomination was president of Princeton University.

Two results of the November elections stand out in strong relief, both of which are gratifying to all thoughtful citizens who can rise above the trammels of narrow partisanship. First, the two great political forces of the nation are equalized in strength and will have perhaps an equal chance in the next presidential contest. For sixteen years the Democratic party had been so far in the minority as to produce unwholesome political conditions. When the two great parties are nearly evenly balanced, each becomes a watchdog on the other; the party in power will far more likely be on its good behavior when its rival is standing ready and able to snatch from it the reins of government in case it is not faithful to its trust.

Second, the development of Democratic leaders. Since the passing of Cleveland the party as a whole had been shepherdless. For twelve years Mr. Bryan was the dominant figure; but Bryan, with all his great ability, his uncompromising integrity, could not command the allegiance of a certain element of his party, an element large enough, by swinging to the other side, to compass his defeat whenever he was placed at the head of the ticket.

After the election of 1910, however, no one could twit the party for its want of strong leaders.

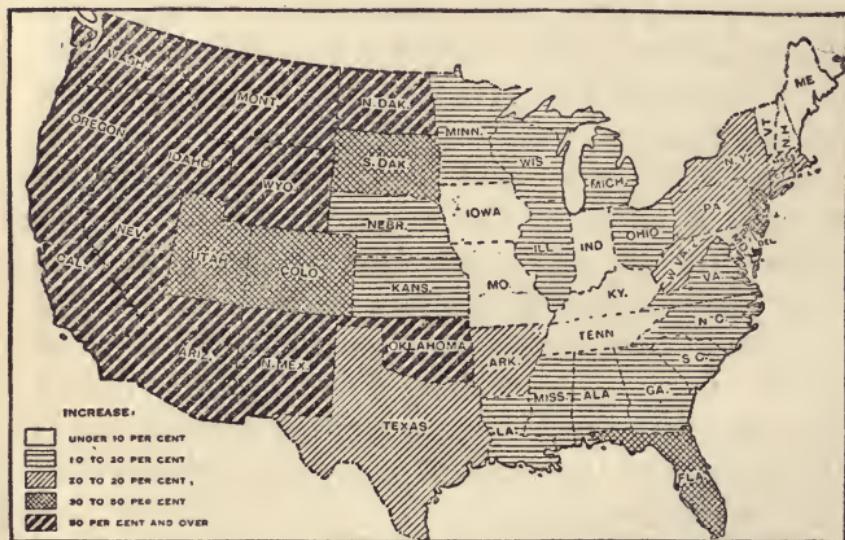
Governor Johnson would perhaps have been the favorite of them all but for his untimely removal by the hand of death. In the front rank as Democratic leaders now stand Governors Harmon, of Ohio, and Wilson, of New Jersey. Next to these half a dozen strong men may be named. Champ Clark and Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri; Mayor Gaynor, of New York, and Governors Foss, of Massachusetts; Dix, of New York, and Marshall, of Indiana, any one of whom would command the united strength of his party.

The Thirteenth Decennial Census of the United States was taken in the spring of 1910. In the first census, of 1790, but two or three inquiries were made, with reference to color, age, and sex of each person enumerated. In the law for the census of 1910, passed on July 2, 1909, it was provided that there be four lines of investigation; 1st, population; 2d, agriculture; 3d, manufactures; 4th, mines and quarries.

The specially appointed enumerators gathered data for population and agriculture only, the other information being gathered by other agents, including the regular employees of the government. The enumerators numbered sixty-eight thousand and were chosen through a competitive examination, held in all parts of the United States on February 5, 1910. Each enumerator was responsible to one of three hundred and thirty supervisors, and these again to the Director of the Census. To keep the taking of the census out of politics President Taft issued an order that both supervisors

and enumerators should, during their term of service, "avoid an active part in politics."

Congress voted fourteen million dollars for the taking of the census and fixed April 15 as the day for beginning the work, instead of June 1st as heretofore, because of the fact that



A Map Showing the Percentage of Increase in Population of the Various States

by the latter date many city residents have changed their domicile for the summer. The enumerators were paid from two to four cents for each inhabitant enumerated, and from twenty to thirty cents for each farm reported, according to the character of the district.

The result of the census showed a striking increase in the population of the great cities. The growth of the city of New York is the most strik-

ing single incident brought out by the census of 1910. That wonderful metropolis, the second largest city in the world, showed a growth of thirty-nine per cent., an increase from 3,437,202 in 1900 to 4,766,883 in 1910. Chicago remains the second city in size and Philadelphia the third, each showing a normal growth.

Another striking feature of this census is the fact that the purely agricultural States show but little growth in population, and in some cases practically none at all. Iowa was the only State, however, which revealed an actual loss. This is due in part, as is also the slow growth of other States in the Middle West, to the fact that for some years past large numbers of American farmers have been migrating to Southwestern Canada. It is believed that in no far distant future there will be something of a counter movement, from the cities back to the farm. This belief is fostered by the fact that farm products are becoming higher priced, and by the further fact that farm life is becoming less isolated and more desirable than hitherto, largely through such agencies as the telephone, the interurban trolley, the making of better roads, the automobile, and rural mail delivery.

The total population of continental United States by the census of 1910 was 91,972,266, an increase in ten years of 15,977,691, or twenty-one per cent.

We have noticed on an earlier page the beginning of the Panama Canal. It remains to give

a word to the progress of the great work. The two great features of the canal are the Gatun Dam and the Culebra Cut. The Gatun Dam is near the Atlantic end, but a few miles from the town of Colon. There is a line of hills parallel with the Atlantic coast, and through a gap between the hills, or rather a valley a mile and a half in width, flows the Chagres River. The Gatun Dam will extend across this valley from hill to hill and will dam up the Chagres River. This dam is being made of earth; it will be about one-third of a mile in thickness at the bottom and thirty-five feet at the top. Damming up the Chagres River will form a lake of sixty-four square miles, extending from the Culebra Hill, a distance of twenty-four miles.

A ship will be lifted from the sea level to the lake, a distance of eighty-five feet, by means of a great flight of locks, three in number, or rather six, as the locks are in pairs, to be used each independent of the other, so that two vessels may pass while going in opposite directions.

Culebra Hill is one of the lowest points in the vast mountain system which extends from Patagonia to the Arctic regions of the north. It is three hundred and thirty-five feet in height and the cut through it, nine miles in length, must be two hundred and eighty-five feet at the highest point of the hill. The great work requires many years of toil of thousands of men. At this time there are about forty-five thousand men at work on the great canal, only about five thousand of whom are

Americans, who are employed as engineers, foremen, clerks, and the like.

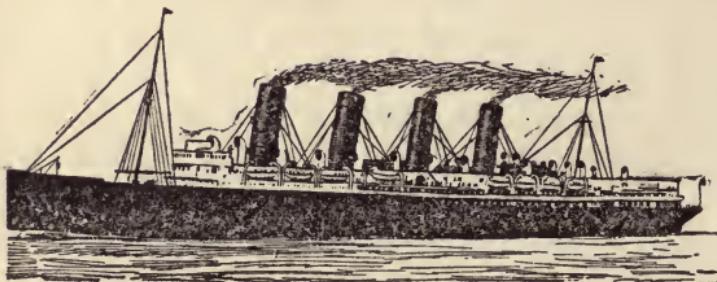
At first the labor problem for this colossal undertaking seemed a hard one. It was impossible to find American laborers in sufficient numbers who were willing to go to Panama to do the muscular work. At length the problem solved itself. The West Indian negroes were found to be the men wanted, and more than thirty thousand of them are now employed on the canal. They are lazy, it is true, and need the constant vigilance of an overseer; but if properly handled they get a great deal of work done in the course of a month. According to present estimates the great waterway will be ready for use a year or two earlier than originally expected, probably by the close of the year 1914.

It is possible that the Panama Canal will not at first, probably not for many years, be a financially paying institution; but all agree that it will be a wonderful stimulus to the modern commercial world. The distance by water between New York and San Francisco by way of the canal will be eighty-four hundred and fifteen miles shorter than by the old route around Cape Horn. Between New York and the ports of Chili the gain will be fifty-two hundred miles, and from Liverpool to the Pacific ports it will be six thousand miles.

The question of whether to fortify or not to fortify the Canal Zone was much discussed until finally it was decided in the affirmative. On March 4, 1911, Congress voted three million dollars with

which to begin the work of fortification, the total cost of which is estimated at something over twelve million dollars.

The crusade against the great trusts and monopolies of the past few years has borne some fruit. It was in November, 1906, that the government began suit against the Standard Oil Company, at St. Louis, in the United States Circuit Court. The contention of the government was that the Standard was violating the Sherman Anti-



Ocean Greyhound

Trust law and ought to be dissolved. A report by the Commissioner of Corporations in the following May showed that the company had secured the practical control of the entire oil trade, through its violating of the law. Later an agreement was unearthed, between the Standard and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, by which the latter was to pay the oil company a rebate of ten per cent. on all oil shipments. The suit was pressed, and on November 20, 1909, the Circuit Court decided that the company was an illegal corporation and ordered it dissolved. The case was

then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and after more than a year and a half, during which the public became somewhat impatient, the decision came, on May 15, 1911, sustaining the lower court, dissolving the great corporation, allowing it six months in which to wind up its business and to separate into its original parts, that is, the various companies of which it was composed.

Two weeks later, on May 29, the Supreme Court rendered its decision in the case of the American Tobacco Company, a decision second only to that of the Standard Oil. In this case also the Court decided that the company was illegal and ordered its dissolution. There are other trusts also under the ban and it seems probable that the government officials will bring many more prosecutions for alleged violations of the Anti-Trust law.

In the short session of Congress ending March 4 President Taft placed before Congress a reciprocity treaty with Canada. After some months of negotiation at Ottawa and later at Washington, the two countries agreed on a sweeping change in their trade relations, many articles produced by either country and needed by the other being put on the free list. President Taft's object no doubt was in some measure to counteract the popular feeling against him for his having signed and defended the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

On January 26 he sent the Reciprocity agreement to the Senate with an able message defending it. Later he made it known that if it were not

acted on he would call an extra session of Congress. The Democrats quickly came to the rescue of the Republican President, as the agreement was a step in the direction of tariff reform, which they had been preaching for a generation, though a great majority of Republicans opposed the measure. However, enough of them voted with the Democrats to pass it in the House, without change or debate.

But the Senate, on the plea of too great pressure of other business, failed to take up the measure, and the Sixty-first Congress expired on March 4th. Thereupon the President called the new Congress to meet in extra session on the 4th of April. The new House was strongly Democratic. Champ Clark was elected Speaker, and it was not long before the Reciprocity treaty had again passed the House, with little debate and no change.

It then went to the Senate, where a long, tiresome debate followed. The Democrats and Insurgent Republicans generally favored the measure; but the conservatives were for the most part found on the other side. No doubt the measure would have failed to pass the Senate but for the pressure from the administration and the general support of the press of the country. The vote was taken on July 22 and the measure was carried by a good majority. The President was greatly pleased with the outcome. He thanked the Democrats heartily for their support.

In Canada the tribulation over the Reciprocity treaty was still greater than in the United States,

resulting in the dissolution of Parliament and a new election. The Canadians voted on September 21st and Reciprocity was defeated by a large majority—a veritable landslide—and all President Taft's efforts to establish closer trade relations with Canada came to naught.

One other crowning act of the Taft administration for the summer of 1911 remains to be mentioned—the treaties of arbitration between this country on one hand and England and France on the other. These treaties were both signed on the same day, August 3, that with England at Washington and that with France at Paris. Such action has been talked of for many years and its consummation is fully in accord with the world's growing public opinion. Such an example by such great powers will go far to bring about for the future the desire of the nations—the blessings of perpetual universal peace.

THE END

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